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CSSR To Propose Dissolution of CEMA

LD0401122290 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1130 GMT 4 Jan 90

[Text] Czechoslovakia has decided to propose at the forthcoming session of the CEMA in Sofia that the organization be dissolved. Czechoslovak Minister of Finance Vaclav Klaus said this in an interview published today in the Polish government daily RZECZPOSPOLITA. Vaclav Klaus added that Poland would support a majority of proposals connected with this question. At the same time, he expressed the view that something else should be created in place of the CEMA, but only under the conditions of radical, modern changes, which will be put forward by participants in the session in Sofia.

Vaclav Klaus stressed that Czechoslovakia will propose the repudiation of many previously concluded treaties. In the event that this proposal is not accepted, Czechoslovakia will, according to Klaus, act on its own [vystoupi idividualne].

Agenda for 9 Jan CEMA Session Reported

LD2912182789 Budapest MTI in English 1636 GMT 29 Dec 89

[Text] Budapest, December 29 (MTI)—The 45th session of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance is to open in Sofia on January 9. In accordance with the preliminary agreement, delegations of the member states are to be led by the ministers.

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According to information of the Hungarian news agency MTI, participants are to discuss implementation of the complex programme for scientific and technical cooperation until the year 2000, and the coordination of the national economic plans for the years 1991- 1995. Other themes are also expected to be discussed, over the announced the agenda. The East European revolutionary changes are fundamentally transforming the conditions of CMEA cooperation. Thus a major theme at the meeting will most probably be the further development of relations, and the future of cooperation. Several member countries stated earlier they hold the further development of relations, the modernization of the accounting system, and the establishment of direct company relations to be necessary.

Hungary will mainly propose for CMEA cooperation to become more open, that goods and market relations gain ground, with respect to cooperation with the Soviet Unbion. Hungary has already initiated to update the currently applied accounting system, and to switch over to dollar-accounting.

However, the majority of the member states have reservations with respect to the fundamental changes.

The revolutionary changes which took place in the German Democratic Republic, in Czechoslovakia, and most recently in Romania, are creating fundamentally new circumstances. Naturally, identity of views cannot be expected in all respects. However, conceptions on the furtherance of integration relations will probably near each other.

Thus the CMEA session in Sofia will mainly be a forum for participants to appraise the new situation that has come about in the wake of the East European transformation, and for the member states to clarify, and be familiarized with, each others' conceptions. A considerable nearing of views can lead to accelerating the CMEA reform in the future.

GDR Media Criticizes U.S. Invasion of Panama

AU2912120589 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 22 Dec 89 p 2

[Bernd Graessler editorial: "Only the Pretext Was Missing"]

[Text] The countdown for the intervention had been going on since General Maxwell Thurman took over command of the U.S. Armed Forces Southern Command in the Panama Canal Zone in October. The war psychologist with experience in Vietnam brought about a mental attitude of attack in the Canal Zone, THE MIAMI HERALD reported; 12,000 GI's, who had enjoyed life in a practical holiday paradise so far began to suspect an enemy behind every tree.

The bloody consequence: Excessively nervous U.S. soldiers and Panamanians staged shoot-outs and thus presented Washington at last with the pretext for a military intervention. General Noriega's announcement of "being at war" with the United States last Friday [15 December] was also hardly suited to defuse the situation.

Moreover, it was clear that for months Washington had purposefully moved toward escalating the conflict, the real reasons for which are neither the alleged or actual involvement of the Panamanian Defense Forces and government chief in drug trafficking nor his authoritarian rule in Panama. Much more, the reason is Noriega's persistent refusal to undermine the canal treaties, which General Torrijos obtained with much effort from the United States in 1977. Noriega insists on full sovereignty over the canal and on the dissolution of the U.S. military bases by the year 2000. That is why there have been an economic and financial blockade, putsch attempts, an arrest warrant for Noriega, and the intervention. The United States wants a government that is more inclined toward its wishes, and it has already installed such a government.

The military intervention corresponds with the responsibility for saving the lives of U.S. citizens and to the right of the United States to protect the Panama Canal, the White House stated. The latter is envisaged in the canal treaties only in the event of an external threat, the former is the same dubious argument that was used to justify the occupation of Grenada.

Something else could be conceivable: In the wake of the dramatic events in the Eastern hemisphere, on which the eyes of the world have been focused in these weeks and months, the U.S. Administration has started to put things "a bit in order" in part of the Western hemisphere, that is, in its former "backyard" Latin America. Old way of thinking, new misery.

Further Commentary

AU0201131290 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 29 Dec 89 p 2

[Bernd Graessler editorial: "Noriega and No End"]

[Text] The claim was a grand one, and the name was no less grand: "Operation Just Cause." The enemy, as described by the White House, would have fit every comic strip: a pock-marked, drug smuggling general in an operetta uniform, who subjugates his citizens, collaborates with foreign powers, and wants to deprive the Americans of a big canal, which they need so urgently. The man is General Manuel Noriega, who, according to the Bush administration, had engaged in his evil machinations south of the U.S. borders, before "efficient" U.S. soliders put a stop to his plans. This was an invasion for the purpose of apprehending the bad guy; conviction in one's mission made in the United States.

However, now there are problems: At first no Panamanian wanted or was able to earn the 1 million dollars put on Noriega's head by the White House, and now it is precisely the papal nunciature in Panama City which refuses to extradite Noriega because, regardless of the crimes attributed to him, he was Panama's head of government and was internationally recognized as such.

The fact that the Vatican is bringing something into play which for the United States has not played a role during the entire affair in Panama, namely international law, is an important signal for every observer interested in peace in Central America to stop on the path which might lead to the following: Every state, which has enough people and weapons, attacks other countries in order to capture people whom it previously declared to be bad guys.

For the United States, however, it must be frustrating that it is precisely the Vatican representative who is protecting the "diabolical" general, even if this is done only in order to protect international law against the law of the stronger.

Or is this the solution that Washington secretly expected after the bad guy Noriega had played his role by presenting a pretext for the invasion?

Is Washington's solemn determination to bring Noriega before a U.S. court perhaps already waning?

CBS television already reported that government officials in Washington have strong reservations against a trial of the Panamanian general, because such a trial could reveal some "highly unpleasant" details about Noriega's past links with the CIA—an institution which was once headed by the current U.S. President. According to CBS, a "barter" could soon be expected, which would allow Noriega to remain silent and to go to a country that will grant him asylum.

As one can see, even Washington's conviction in its mission has its limits.

SFRY Media Reacts to U.S. Invasion of Panama

AU3012101489 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 23-24 Dec 89 p 9

[Vlado Teslic's "The Week in the World" column: "Narcotic of Interventions"]

[Excerpts] Perhaps the countries are indeed not divided into the law-governed ones and the others, in keeping with the newly fashionable political jargon, but are divided as we have been used to in the past 4-and-1/2 decades: into big and small, strong and weak countries, the first assuming the "right" of interference in the internal affairs of other countries.

What is the real world like this December 1989? Many people are convinced that this is the end of the cold war that has predominated since the last hot world war, that it is the end of the doctrines on the right of interventions, especially military intervention, the end of theories and the practice of "limited sovereignty" of the countries in the "backyard" of the big powers, that it is a time of dialogue and agreement even between fierce ideological adversaries and competitors for predominance in the world. Perhaps. There are certainly some elements indicating that. At least some international factors behave in this way.

Judging by the U.S. military intervention in Panama, which has many characteristics of unprovoked aggression and which endangers the international climate of negotiations and agreement achieved with such difficulty, this does not apply to one of the two largest military powers in the world, which bear special responsibility for the preservation of peace in the world.

Washington, at least in its own "backyard," does not wish to renounce the practice of military interventions, of military bases, and of spheres of influence, which all together do not originate with the cold war and confrontation with the other superpower or with "communism," as it was maintained for a long time, but have their origin in the years long past, at the end of the last and the beginning of this century.

It is difficult to avoid thinking about possible consequences not only for the Latin American and the Caribbean regions, where small and poor countries are waging a decisive historical battle for independence, emancipation, economic growth, and democratization, and where such interventions will always generate new strong generals and new revolutions. The consequences could quickly appear in the sensitive soil of U.S.-Soviet relations, which many have believed to be the only catalyst of international detente and of the creation of a new, more democratic, more just world at present. The consequences could also be felt in the field of the yet tenuous processes of gaining freedom, independence, and democracy in East European countries. [passage omitted on West European views on these processes]

Neo-Pacifism

In the other hemisphere, the "Pacific" and Far East, similar events are under way. Old and new hegemonic doctrines are interwoven, and (un)expected military interventions occur to strengthen U.S. strategic positions. The surprise is that the military intervention in Panama occurred before the neo-Pacific doctrine, which has been long in preparation and has not yet been published.

Something was revealed about 10 days ago when two leading White House officials visited Beijing, thus breaking the economic and political isolation of China. That country is too important a strategic partner in the Pacific to remain isolated, it was explained in Washington.

To enter into a discussion about Panama, the way Washington wrote the scenario, is quite unnecessary and beyond any rational comprehension of things, particularly regarding the thesis about America being endangered or about drug business. The most dangerous narcotics are those that act as a stimulant to the policy of interventions.

What is involved is the canal linking the Atlantic and Pacific, which is controlled by the United States, and neither President Carter's successor, Reagan, nor anybody in the U.S. military and political hierarchy has agreed with its transfer to Panama in 2000.

What could stop the Americans from repeating Panama in Nicaragua shortly? Perhaps the Soviet Union could stop them, but not at present under Gorbachev, who proclaimed a new foreign policy of nonintervention even in the immediate vicinity. Certainly Latin America could stop them, but only when united and strong, and it will need a long time to reach that stage.

There remains, like in "the good old times" of cold war and bloc confrontation, the peaceful world public, the voice of the nonaligned, and their moral and political condemnation; and something more, of course: the return of the world affairs, problems, and disputes to the unique world organization that alone guarantees both human rights and democracy.

How moving it was now to hear the speeches in the Security Council or in the OAS, which we have almost forgotten in our hope that the big powers have returned to reason.

Cami Speaks to Assembly on East Europe

AU2912153289 Tirana ATA in English 0916 GMT 29 Dec 89

["From the Contributions in the People's Assembly"—ATA Headline]

[Text] Tirana, December 29 (ATA)—On the reports presented at the sixth session of the 11th legislature of the People's Assembly there were contributions made by many deputies who brought to the Assembly the successes attained in the areas in which they work, the advanced experience of the working masses, and valuable proposals suggested for the solution to important problems. They also expressed the optimism that they will translate into life the tasks of 1990 plan and of the whole five-year plan.

The deputy Foto Cami said, among others things, in his statement of contribution:

The year we are closing as the year of the 45th anniversary of the liberation and of the triumph of the revolution, was a year full of great events, but also a year of marked achievements. The tasks of the plan of this year are realized better than in any other year of the five-year plan. Sensitive improvements are made in all the generalizing indices of the development of the economy. The achievements made this year are a basis and starting point to take upon oneself even greater tasks in the year 1990. All the possibilities exist and to this testifies the advanced experience of many districts, sectors and economies, so that the tasks of the plan of the last year of the five-year plan can be carried out successfully.

Further on the speaker underlined that sensational events are occurring in the world recently, which are bringing out great changes in the internal life of special countries, and which have their impact on international relations as well.

A new and unstabilized situation has been created in East Europe. No one knows what new international relations will be brought about as a result of these changes. We would like and wish that these relations be to the interest of strengthening peace and security in Europe and particularly not to affect the process initiated in the Balkans, the process of cooperation and good neighborliness, the creation of a tranquil and friendly atmosphere, all o which interests the peoples of our region. Likewise, we wish that the internal developments in the countries of the East follow the road to their national freedom, independence, and sovereignty. We notice that pressures and interferences of superpowers and other big powers in the internal developments in those countries are intensified. This runs contrary to the aspirations and interests of the peoples, because it creates new hotbeds of conflicts, divisions, and confrontations.

The recent events in Romania have drawn the attention of public opinion. These events led to the overthrow of the personal and dictatorial rule of Ceaucescu and his clan. The Party of Labor and the Albanian people have long-since condemned such anti-people's and antisocialist policies. The Albanian people who maintain ancient friendly relations with the Romanian people are confident that they will organize and develop their country in full freedom, independence and sovereignty.

Very preoccupying for the international consequences is the U.S. direct military aggression against Panama. In this case we have to do with the occupation of a free and independent country, but it is also a new testimony to the strategy of U.S. imperialism to further expand its world hegemony and domination through violence.

The arrogance and brutality with which the United States of America justified their attack against Panama are unprecedented. They want to grant themselves the right to interfere everywhere where the regime, government or leadership of a country do not act to their liking.

It is for this reason that the freedom-loving peoples and countries, particularly the Latin American countries, have sternly condemned this act of violence and have voiced their solidarity with the resistance of Panamanian people. The U.S. aggression in Panama revealed that great falsity and hypocrisy of many circles in America and West Europe, which while clamorously speak of the human rights and those of nations for equality in the international relations, justified it and were in solidarity with this aggression.

At present, the German problem again appeared on the international stage. Certainly, in principle no one can deny the German people as a whole of their right for self-determination and unification. But in no case can they fail to take into consideration the international agreements related to Germany and the obligations deriving from them.

Our party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have long-since analyzed the situation in the Soviet Union and other East European countries and have warned of the grave impact of the political course pursued by them. Now the whole world is eyewitness to the catastrophe these countries are plunged in. Bureaucracy and corruption, the detachment of the party and power from the people, stagnation and economic crisis, subjugation to imperialism and debts estimated to billions of dollars, are some of the great evils that aroused the dissatisfaction of the masses and led to those dramatic events we are experiencing today.

As it has been stressed other times, too, what is occurring in the countries of the East belongs to them and do not concern Albania. It has long-since withdrawn from the Soviet camp. The road of its development has been and is different from theirs. We have never accepted to blindly follow the others' steps and subject to their dictate. We have made and are ready to make every sacrifice for freedom, independence, and sovereignty. The road we are marching on is not opened by the others, but we have chosen it ourselves and have ushered it with struggle and work. Albania has its peculiarities, physiognomy, and originality, which distinguish it from the other countries, both of the East and West.

Our party has always drawn conclusions and lessons from its experience and from that of the other countries and has adopted measures to forge ahead the socialist construction of Albania. We are marching on this road even today. The internal and external developments have created problems in need of solutions, and we do not find these solutions ready in books or borrow them from others, but we find them in our reality, in conformity with the interests of the people and the conditions of the country, relying on our Marxist- Leninist principles. We have an unflinched confidence that socialism has all the forces and possibilities to ensure the incessant progress in all fields of life for all the people. Everything depends on our ability to exploit the potentials and superiorities of the socialist system. It is for that reason that the party has appealed to us, so that all of us think and work to forge ahead the work in all sectors. The major problems emerging from internal and international developments have been made clear by the party and Comrade Ramiz Alia in the eighth plenum of the Party Central Committee. They constitute a major program of work for the future. The decisions of this plenum have been enthusiastically received by the masses. They enlivened the activity; the people are discussing and reflecting on them, voice opinions, make proposals, preoccupation for the work is enhanced, and greater efforts are made to fulfill the planned tasks. In our entire activity, the fundamental goal always remains the consolidation of the situation at home, the unity of the people, party, and the people's power, the strengthening of the economy and improvement of the people's supply, and the safeguarding of socialist ideals and independence of the homeland. The more these factors strengthen and develop, the stronger and unflinching our Albania becomes.

People's Assembly Session Ends

AU2912153089 Tirana ATA in English 0901 GMT 29 Dec 89

["The 6th Session of the 11th Legislature of the People's Assembly Wound Up Its Proceedings Successfully"—ATA Headline]

[Text] Tirana, December 29 (ATA)—The second sitting of the sixth session of the 11th legislature of the People's Assembly opened on December 28, before noon.

The deputies and the invitees enthusiastically applauded the entry into the hall of the first secretary of the Party Central Committee and President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Ramiz Alia and the other party and state leaders: Comrades Adil Carcani, member of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers; the members of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee Besnik Bekteshi, Foto Cami, Hajredin Celiku, Hekuran Isai, Lenka Cuko, Manush Myftiu, Muho Asllani, Pali Miska, Prokop Murra, Rita Marko, and Simon Stefani; the alternate members of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee Kico Mustaqi, Llambi Gegprifti, Pirro Kondi, Qirjako Mihali, and Vangjel Cerrava.

In this sitting began the contributions on the reports of the Council of Ministers "On Fulfilling the Plan of 1989 and the Main Tasks of the Draft Plan of the Development of the Economy and Culture for 1990" and "On the Fulfillment of the State's Budget for 1989 and on the State's Draft Budget for 1990".

As the contributions closed, the deputies unanimously approved in principle article per article and as a whole the law "On the State's Plan for the Development of the Economy and Culture of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania for 1990" and the law "On the State's Budget for 1990."

Then it was passed into the examination of the draft law "On the Setting up of the Committee of Economic Cooperation With Foreign Countries" as well as the Draft Decision on appointing the chairman of this Committee. This Draft Law was examined also by the Juridical Commission of the People's Assembly and there was no objection. The deputies unanimously approved in principle, article per article and as a whole the Law "On the Setting Up of a Committee of Economic Cooperation With Foreign Countries." This Committee will create the possibility of a better coordination of the work within the country, will orientate and control all the preparations for the relations in the economic field with the other countries, as well as will follow and coordinate the work with the institutions for the implementation of the tasks of the concrete agreements, protocol, and projects.

The chairman of the Presidency of the People's Assembly, Petro Dode, said that the chairman of the Council of Ministers, Comrade Adil Carcani, proposes that Farudin Hoxha, minister under the Presidency of the Council of Ministers, be also appointed chairman of the Committee of Economic Cooperation With Foreign Countries. This proposal was unanimously approved by the deputies.,

Then the floor was taken by the secretary of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Sihat Tozaj, who on behalf of the Presidium presented the report on the decrees drawn out by the Presidium of the People's Assembly.

The chairman of the Presidency of the People's Assembly, Petro Dode, delivered the closing speech, who said among others that the year 1989 which is almost over was characterized by the lofty spirit of our people's mobilization in carrying out the planned tasks in all fields. In this year of the 45th anniversary of the liberation of the homeland and of the triumph of the people's revolution, the invincible unity of the people with our Party of Labor and its Central Committee with Comrade Ramiz Alia at the head, was manifested on a wide scale.

We commemorated marked events of our new history with legitimate feelings of pride for the attained victories. The conviction to always march ahead on the road of socialism, based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and the teachings of our unforgettable leader Comrade Enver Hoxha, was deeply rooted.

By this spirit were characterized also the proceedings of the sixth session of the 11th legislature of the People's Assembly, which conducted its proceedings in full success.

The realizations of this year are comprehensive in the fields of economy, culture, and defence. But the examination in a critical way and with a spirit of responsibility of the achievements and of the work performed by the state and economic organs, as it came out in this session too, shows that socialism, as the most advanced social and economic order, has inexhaustible possibilities of development. To this testified also the revolutionary initiatives of the masses undertaken this jubilee year to accelerate the realization of the tasks.

Through the plan for the development of the economy and culture and through the state's budget for 1990, on which we have just approved the respective laws, important tasks are envisaged for the implementation of the directives of the Ninth Congress of the Party. The year 1990, which is the last year of the Eighth Five-Year Plan, should be characterized by an all-round mobilization to fulfill the tasks of this year and of the whole Five-Year Plan. By realizing all the planned tasks we shall further preserve and strengthen our sound moral and political state, the revolutionary readiness and vigilance, and the invincible unity of the people with the party with Comrade Ramiz Alia at the head.

I declare the proceedings of the 6th session of the 11th legislature of the People's Assembly closed.

International Institute Head on Balkan Cooperation

AU3112141389 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 20 Dec 89 p 4

[Speech by Sofokli Lazri, director of the Institute for the Study of International Affairs, at a meeting of directors of Balkan countries' institutes for the study of international affairs in Athens "a few days ago": "For a Policy of Trust and Security in the Balkans"]

[Text] I think that it would be useful to exchange views about the opportunities that exist for strengthening trust among the peoples of the Balkans and about the security of Balkan countries in general. Outlining the problems and gathering any suggestions that might arise for their solution will make an appreciable contribution to creating the calm and peaceful political atmosphere so necessary for progress in Balkan cooperation, which has now taken significant steps forward.

Of course, our views are not official or those of the governments involved, but, as the opinions of people involved in the study of international life whose work requires them in a way to be objective and realistic, they cannot fail to be welcome.

We all, I think, agree that many issues hamper the rapprochement, cooperation, and general peaceful coexistence of the Balkan countries. There are endemic historical problems, such as those of the minorities, and new ones, such as those created by the psychologies of the rival blocs and opposing political and ideological systems.

No borders of any Balkan state coincide with ethnic borders. These borders have tended to be imposed following wars among these states, by the winners on the losers, and as a result of the interventions of the great powers, who fought for the territorial expansion of their friends and for the contraction of those states they did not care for.

The Balkans have been, and to a degree remain, a battlefield of rivalries and confrontations of military blocs, economic groups, and different ideological camps.

Political life in the Balkan countries and the attitudes of one country to another have often been burdened by nationalist hysteria, hatred, and the most diverse kinds of prejudice. Even today, the situation is unenviable.

Other characteristics of the Balkans have been delayed national and social emancipation in comparison with other European countries, and a relative but significant economic, cultural, technological, and scientific backwardness compared with the rest of Europe.

All these barriers must and can be overcome. This is not a subjective wish, but an objective and realistic need. Domestic and foreign developments demand that some old, ossified political molds be broken and the thinking and mentality that they created should be abandoned.

The reasons why the Balkans are as they are are well known. However, the main thing today is not to judge whether history has been good or bad, but to abandon the viewpoints of the past. However, where should we start to create the spirit of trust and understanding, which must serve as a basis on which general security can rest?

Many ideas have been put forward, many initiatives undertaken, and measures have been suggested, such as the exchange of information on national military principles, reductions of military equipment, direct telephone links between heads of state and defense ministers, a ban on the deployment of further nuclear, chemical, and conventional weapons and the modernization of existing weapons, limits to military activities in the vicinity of borders with other states, and so forth.

There is nothing wrong with all these measures that have been put forward. There is no doubt that their acceptance would in general serve to reduce tension in one of its most important aspects, that of the military threat, and would in consequence lead to stronger mutual trust.

However, weaponry, military alliances, and militarist propaganda are the consequences of a definite policy and a whole system of concepts and practices. What is therefore important and fundamental is not the removal of certain weapons and the reduction of some others, but the disarmament of those policies which have spawned and produced these weapons. Nobody lays downs their arms unless they are fully persuaded of their neighbor's good intentions, his sincerity, friendship, and trustworthiness.

Sincerity, friendship, trustworthiness, confidence, and understanding belong to the sphere of politics, not that of disarmament, and are in the final analysis determined for the Balkans, as for other regions, by the world situation.

The Balkan countries have been without nuclear weapons, without chemical weapons, and without foreign bases, and yet they have still quarreled and confronted each other.

I am not saying that the adoption of these measures plays no role whatsoever. On the contrary. However, I am talking about the priority that must be given to changing certain definite policies that have led to the present-day Balkan quarrels, as against partial measures in the field of disarmament, some economic and cultural exchanges, and so forth.

One question on which there is a great deal of sensitivity in the Balkans is that of the borders or, better still, let us say the concern to ensure everyone's territorial integrity. To ensure the inviolability of borders is an undeniable right. Should someone present a demand to change borders, this would lead again back to the reasons for the Balkan wars and the mentality of those days.

However, in connection with the question of borders, a problem arises nevertheless: If they are inviolable, this does not mean that they should be closed to economic, cultural, and human exchanges. They must not disrupt the geographic proximity, the traditional links, the traditional passage routes, and the stream of centuries-old neighborliness.

The normal exchange of goods, friendly communication between people, and the exchange of cultural values make for good neighbors. Dividing walls create enemies.

Certainly, like everything else, this communication can be misused and instrumentalized for evil purposes. However, this can not happen if one recognizes everyone else's right to be master in their own home, in the same way that one may desire one's own home. It depends on the way one wishes to go to his neighbor's home, as a friend or as a foe. If one goes as a friend, one will find the door open; if one goes with evil intentions one will find it closed.

All cooperation in the Balkans, good-neighborliness, the friendship between its peoples, and the measures to strengthen understanding and security must pass through the stance adopted toward minorities. We must be realists on this question.

The old assimilating policies, the denial of the national and cultural identity of minorities, have been one of the main causes of the tensions, quarrels, and divisions between neighbors, and even of the unnatural links and alliances with outsiders.

There is a need for profound meditation on this question by everyone, as well as for new conclusions and contemporary solutions. One must not proceed from the century that is passing, but from the one that is ahead of us.

There are ways of resolving minority problems. When we say there are ways of doing this, we certainly do not mean that the minorities must be joined to their national states. A change of borders is inconceivable. If we were to proceed from this premise, policies and practices could be found which would make it possible to transform the minorities from a factor of conflicts and divisions into a factor of rapprochement and friendship between the peoples.

In the same way, if we were to use the lessons of history as a basis, as well as the present-day reality, sound reason, and the desire to move forward instead of backward, we could not fail to reach the conclusion that the solution to the minority problems in the Balkans can be achieved not through segregation or measures to change their national character in order to assimilate them, but through their general emancipation, including their national emancipation, preserving their identity and originality, their ethno-psychological traits, their cultural legacy, and their historical traditions. Normal exchanges with their compatriots would provide the ethnic minorities with the possibility to free themselves from the complexes of being isolated, of being a minority, and of living in a narrow political and cultural area. This would not result in them becoming less devoted citizens of the country in which they live, less honest citizens of the state to which they belong.

On the contrary, this would contribute a lot toward creating a sound political and social climate in their country, toward harmony, coexistence, friendship, and unity between the peoples living in any country where there are minorities.

A lot is being said nowadays about democracy, humanism, and pluralism as values testifying to a high level of civilization. I do not wish to enter into their interpretation nor into the correctness and precision of such a definition. However, in my opinion, the Balkan countries must pass the test of democracy, pluralism, humanism, and civilization precisely by their stance toward minorities, by the degree of their readiness to coexist as equal citizens with those who are not their kith and kin, who speak a different language, who possess a psychology and individuality that is different from that of the larger nation, and who have a different historical tradition.

If we are talking about economic, cultural, and other forms of cooperation, about political dialogue at a regional, continental, and even at a world level, such a dialogue must take place primarily with the minorities within a given country.

In conclusion, I would like to say that the solution to the problems of the minorities would represent a fundamental and essential prerequisite to strengthen trust between the Balkan countries.

The participation of some Balkan countries in the NATO and Warsaw Pact alliances has brought to our peninsula their rivalries and confrontations, as well as their consequences.

It is every country's right to choose its political alliances and to build its defense in conformity with its own wishes.

But this does not free it from its obligations toward third countries in the sense that its international agreements must not create concern in other countries. It must be made clear, in practice as well as in principle, through a binding commitment, that no country will allow its friends and allies to operate against a neighboring Balkan country from its territory.

This is a complicated problem, but also a fundamental prerequisite to strengthen trust between the Balkan countries and for their security.

Certainly, efforts must be made to understand each other and the difficulties which preoccupy each country. In saying this, I am not saying that criticism and rebuke must be eliminated. Opportunistic and circumstantial silence is the worst solution. Open accounts make for good friends. However, everything must be done and said on the basis of mutual respect, political wisdom, and goodwill.

The conflicts, quarrels, and disagreements in the Balkans are all of a bilateral nature. The improvement of these relations would lead to a more favorable climate for all. The basis from which it is necessary to proceed is well known: full equality and respect for the independence, sovereignty, and the right of every people to choose its social system; noninterference in each other's internal affairs, the elimination of force and threats in resolving various conflicts, and the settlement of problems through dialogue.

It would be a wise and promising thing for the creation of a sound climate of trust and understanding in the Balkans, if a code of good-neighborliness were to be drafted and approved, as has been proposed by the Albanian side at the Tirana meeting of deputy foreign ministers, which would include, in addition to a declaration of principles, a number of joint measures to further promote cooperation and security in the region.

It could be said that the Balkan countries have signed various documents of this kind, suffice it to mention the UN Charter.

However, such a code should be of a special nature and drafted especially with the Balkans in mind, taking into consideration a definite and concrete historic reality, and intended for a special and concrete purpose.

Great changes are taking place in Europe, which will lead to new balances and developments in various directions. In addition, one must bear in mind that, at present as in the past, the influence of the Balkans on the destinies of Europe is not inconsiderable. But in order to be a positive influence, to make it possible for the voice of the Balkans to be listened to and to be taken into consideration in the situations that will come, it is necessary for the Balkan countries to liquidate the just or injust reasons why the Balkans have been termed a powder keg and why Balkanization has come to mean permanent quarrels and divisions.

Soviet Reform in 80's Had 'No Tangible Results'

AU2012152389 Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 16 Dec 89 p 3-4

[Article by Genc Kondi: "The Inexorable Pace of the East"]

[Text] The year 1989, the end of this decade, has been so rich in changes in East European countries that it overshadows previous years. However, the changes now taking place have deep roots, and are not merely the fruit of the eighties. Their origins can be discerned at the end of the sixth decade of our century, for the middle of the century was most decisive for the course of events in the East which we are witnessing today.

The Soviet Union embarked on the eighties with a new act of aggression against the sovereign country of Afghanistan, carried out in December 1979. As its war machine moved on, it grew bigger, involving colossal expenditure for the country, which entailed grave social consequences. The period of Brezhnev's rule was marked by the stagnation and decline of a number of key branches of the economy and by the Soviet Union's gradually declining prestige in the international arena. The Soviet Union's political and military domination over its "allies" was indisputable and was even excused ideologically by the pseudo-theory of "limited sovereignty." Nevertheless, the Soviet Union entered the eighties with a number of territorial gains, in the sense that during the preceding decade political forces tied to Moscow had come to power in a number of countries all over the world. The other superpower responded to this territorial expansion as a major challenge in the arms race. Moreover, the eighties began with the boycott of various fields of cooperation with the Soviet Union by the United States and the West under the pretext of "punishing" the Soviet aggression against Afghanistan.

It was at the beginning of the decade that dramatic events took place in Poland, which in essence aimed at removing this country from the Soviet sphere of influence and tying it to the West.

The Soviet response was harsh, but did not go as far as the invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1980, and Soviet troops did not intervene in the course of events. This difference indicated that Soviet domination would encounter problems in this country in the future.

There were also different trends in other countries. For instance, Hungary quickly committed itself to the road of reforms toward a market economy and the strengthening of private property. When "perestroyka" was approved in Moscow, the Hungarians announced that they had embraced this phenomenon long ago! These countries held in common the fact that, during the first half of the eighties, a superstructure that had opened the doors to capitalism coexisted with an economic base that was trying to retain its "socialist" form. Such a contradiction could not last long.

Just as when Moscow, in the fifties and sixties, encouraged changes of direction in the international communist movement, the Soviet Union once again in the eighties determined the political direction of all the countries of East Europe through the changes it itself adopted in its political development. This process began with the natural removal of Brezhnev from the scene. A relay race of transient forms of rule then took place, in the sense that the subsequent rule of Andropov or Chernenko were indicative of a struggle between factions within the new Soviet bourgeoisie. At this time, there was a clear division among the country's ruling circles between "conservatives" and "reformers." The policy of the former was to maintain the status of the Soviet superpower by means of "a strong hand," strengthening the apparatus of force within the country, and increasing the use of military threats as a political weapon abroad, while the second group called for the adoption of more vigorous political and diplomatic methods, trying to reduce somewhat the military expenditure in order to provide the badly ailing economy with a breath of oxygen. Andropov was the representative of the "reformers," while Chernenko was in fact a product of the rule of the Brezhnevites. For natural reasons, neither of them was able to rule for long.

The division of the Soviet Politburo into two factions revealed a deeper division within Soviet society itself. The new bourgeoisie was internally divided into bureaucrats and technocrats. The first ruled through bureaucratic methods, obtaining privileges for themselves through their political domination, and using the technocrats as their servants. The latter were dissatisfied with such a situation and sought to seize direct power. In struggling to obtain this they exploited the major failures in the Soviet economy, the country's prestige abroad, unprecedented corruption, the spread and exacerbation of all social blights such as crime, alcoholism, and drug addiction, and the grievances of the different peoples and nationalities that were openly oppressed by the Kremlin.

To more deeply touch on the international implications, it seemed as if the world had become polarized once and for all, but the Soviet Union realized that it could not remain a superpower without becoming economically stronger. There are countries in the modern world which are superpowers, although they are "political dwarves," such as the FRG and Japan. It is their weight in the world economy that gives them their indisputable political importance. At a time when even the United States, which has an economy many times stronger than that of the Soviet Union, feels itself threatened by such countries, could the Soviet Union with its economic torpor feel secure in its leadership? And what about the clear prospects for the creation of a new superpower in Western Europe, whose outlines began to clearly take shape in the second half of the eighties? How could the Soviet Union guarantee its role as a superpower in the face of increasing protests from its allies and domestic and foreign problems?

All these questions called for an answer. The Soviet Union could either continue its Brezhnevite path, which would mean that the country would gradually lose its importance in the world, or it could choose another path in order to prevent this. At this moment, the political group linked with the name of Gorbachev emerged on the scene. Of course, it chose to demolish the reputation of Brezhnev, who was blamed for all evil, and to raise the two new banners of "perestroyka" and "glasnost." From a semantic point of view, these terms mean "restructuring" and "openness," while their political purpose is to introduce a deceptive "return to Leninism" in order to erase "the mistakes of his successors."

At first, the role of Gorbachev and his successors was not clearly understood. Facts were contradictory. British Prime Minister Thatcher had no sooner announced that he was "a new kind of Soviet leader" (in other words, a kind pleasing to the West), than Gorbachev immediately praised the role of Stalin in World War II! All these bluffs quickly collapsed. Like his predecessors, Gorbachev quickly turned his back on Stalin and the past. Perestroyka, now that we can assess it after several years' experience, turned out to be nothing other than an adoption of the capitalist road without the mask of socialism. With one blow, Gorbachev cut the Brezhnevite "Gordian knot"; he abolished the capitalist-socialist hybrid in favor of real capitalism in form and content.

Different governments try to develop their countries economically. However, there are different ways of doing this. The Gorbachev group adapted those ways which have brought economic success to the West, while silently overlooking the inevitable social consequences which they have entailed in the West and which have also accompanied these methods in the Soviet Union and elsewhere in the East. Anyway, 4-and-1/2 years since this group came to power, the recent second session of the "Congress of People's Deputies," the new Soviet Parliament, could do nothing but admit that the economic situation is very serious. The reforms, therefore, have brought no tangible results. "Glasnost" does not fit in with "perestroyka," and the unavoidable ethnic conflicts, falling production, mass unemployment, and miners strikes show that the rule of the "perestroykists" lacks firm foundations. However, events have reached a point from where there can be no turning back.

The influence of the "Gorbachev effect" abroad has been especially striking. We have witnessed this in the year that is now ending. The Kremlin hastened to approve political pluralism in Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, and the GDR. Life in these countries has been marked by major political upheavals. However, after its initial applause, the West is frankly expressing fear at these events in the East. This is principally because of their uncontrolled nature and the blind destruction of things that have nothing to do with the social and political system. Developments in the East have aroused major concern for Europe's stability and security. First of all, they create doubt about the future of state borders on the continent. Let us recall here the German problem, a problem "par excellence." Nationalist feelings which seemed consigned to history are reawakening. France, Britain, and even the United States are not satisfied at the efforts to reassess the role of Germany in Europe.

What is happening in Europe is part of an inexorably dynamic process, which would have happened in any event. However, the way that it has happened cannot be without consequences. It is a question of a process that is still not over, but has only begun. The countries in the East are experiencing a crisis which will last for a long time. However, as Comrade Ramiz Alia stressed in his speech at the meeting of the General Council of the Trade Unions of Albania, "the crisis which has engulfed the countries in the East is the crisis of a specific community called the 'socialist community,' but it is not a crisis of socialism, in theory or practice." This crisis is the consequence of the domination of reformism in the progressive movement, and it discredits the authors of this counterrevolutionary turnabout. It shows where deviation from Marxism-Leninism leads.

Publication of Enver Hoxha's Works

AU2912201189 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 29 Dec 89

[Text] The 68th volume of Comrade Enver Hoxha's works has been published. This volume includes speeches, discussions, conversations, and notes pertaining to September-November 1978, some of which are published for the first time.

The materials of this period deal with and analyze various problems pertaining to economic development, the strengthening of the party's work, defense, as well as international problems and problems of our country's foreign policy.

Of particular interest is the discussion entitled: Let Us Look at the Drafting and Implementation of Plans in Close Relation to the Development of the Situation; the speeches entitled: Proletarian Democracy is Genuine Democracy and Albania Advances Surely Without Fear, which deal, among other things, with problems pertaining to further consolidating the power of and constantly deepening the socialist democracy.

This volume also includes Comrade Enver Hoxha's memorable theoretical work entitled: Yugoslav Self-Management—A Capitalist Theory and Practice, in which the theory of scientific socialism, Marxism-Leninism, is defended and further elaborated.

The volume includes an index.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 23-29 Dec

AU3112095389

[Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian in its broadcasts between 23-29 December reports the following public appearances of Albanian leaders (sourceline of report given in parentheses):

Foto Cami, Albanian Workers Party Central Committee Politburo member and secretary attended a ceremony to commemorate the 45th anniversary of ATA on 23 December. (1900 GMT 23 Dec 89)

Reaction to Decision on Muslims Grows

New Rallies in Kurdzhali

*AU0401104690 Sofia Domestic Service
in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 4 Jan 90*

[Text] Two parallel rallies began at 1000 today in Kurdzhali—the first organized by citizens who oppose the 29 December decision of the State Council and the Council of Ministers, and the second of those who consider the decision to be justified. There are significantly fewer participants in the second rally.

At the moment, representatives of the two groups are presenting their views and demands, and awaiting the arrival of a parliamentary group, which will discuss the situation that has arisen.

'Protest Convoy' Forms

*AU0401104890 Sofia Domestic Service
in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 4 Jan 90*

[Text] A protest convoy of cars headed from Razgrad toward Sofia this morning. Representatives of various labor collectives and public organizations and movements, with national flags and many posters used in yesterday's rally in Razgrad, are carrying a declaration adopted at the rally. They are expected to arrive in Sofia and at about 1400, when they will hand the declaration to the chairman of the National Assembly, or a representative of his. Let me summarize in a few words the contents of the declaration:

We oppose the decision of 29 December. The declaration expresses disagreement with the style and methods of leadership on the part of the Politburo of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee in determining the policy of the party and the people on the nationality issue.

The declaration demands that the forthcoming National Assembly session adopt a decision on reviewing the problems of national consensus and unity after the conduct of free and democratic elections. The proposals for the decision are to be discussed throughout the country.

Solidarity and support is expressed with the declaration of Kurdzhali citizens, and their demands addressed to the National Assembly are supported.

We adhere to the appeal for a warning strike on 5 January, the declaration of Razgrad citizens reads in conclusion.

Rallies Throughout Country

*AU0401085290 Sofia BTA in English
2112 GMT 4 Jan 90*

[Text] Sofia, January 3 (BTA)—Rallies and demonstrations were held in a number of towns in the provinces throughout the day today in connection with the December 29, 1989 resolutions of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party], the State Council and the Council of Ministers on granting a free choice of names to the Turkish-speaking and Muslim population.

The participants in the rallies in Plovdiv, Turgovishte, Shumen, Ruse and Smolyan expressed disagreement with the decision. Thousands of people insisted that before the National Assembly consider the matter on January 15, M.P.s visit various parts of the country and get familiar with the situation and with the moods there. There are also demands that the decision be reconsidered.

For their part, the people attending a rally in Varna welcomed the State Council and the government resolution and criticized the "inflamed passions of some unreasonable Bulgarians".

The Interim Executive Committee of the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions today issued a statement calling for sound reason for the sake of the equality of all citizens without distinction of national self-identification, religion, race and ideology. "We declare ourselves in favour of national concord and reconciliation, of an elimination of the atmosphere and the manifestations of hostility, in defense of everyone's human right to a free choice of name, God, language and customs," the statement reads.

The document, however, criticizes the CC of the BCP for neglecting the democratic way and for repeating stereotypes of the command-and-administer system. "The CC of the BCP practically prejudged this complicated issue which is within the competence of the National Assembly and of the entire people. Such an approach leads to further mistakes and should no longer be used. The unrest and the discontent around the country and the demands for a referendum show that this was the wrong way to act," the statement says.

The Bulgarian Trade Unions' interim governing body declares that one injustice should not be remedied by another. Guarantees are needed both against the abridgement of rights and against any privileges based on ethnicity. The possibility for any rift of the people should be precluded in the places with mixed population and conditions should be created for the people to live and work in peace.

"We condemn any attempt at labour and political discrimination. We categorically insist on a referendum on a solution of the ethnic problem in compliance with the international agreements," says the Interim Executive Committee of the Bulgarian Trade Unions' Central Committee in its statement.

Rally in Kurdzhali

AU0301215490 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 3 Jan 90

[Text] Let us begin with a news item that we just received through BTA:

Despite the fact that the local radio station was tuned in on several occasions announcing that negotiations are beginning in Kurdzhali tomorrow between a large parliamentary group of National Assembly deputies and the Committee of Citizens' Unity, a new rally was held in Kurdzhali tonight in front of the Municipal BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] Committee Building. The meeting was attended by many fewer people than yesterday, and there were no loudspeakers.

The candles that were lit and the slogans asking for a referendum and stating, "Bulgaria is not Cyprus," once more reminded everyone of the fact that the problem is very complicated and that in such a tense atmosphere, emotions and extreme feelings are not the best advisers, concludes the BTA report.

Public Voices Opinions

AU0301205790 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 3 Jan 90

[Text] Hundreds of telephone calls, telegrams, and declarations from all over the country reached us today, all dealing with the problem on overcoming the violations committed against the rights of the Muslim population in the country and on the methods to be applied for achieving national unity and consensus.

Let us cite a few examples: Without interrupting the production process today, approximately 80 percent of the workers and employees from the Shumen Pivo beer brewery adopted a declaration in which they stressed that the national issues should be resolved with the direct participation of the entire people and appealed to the National Assembly deputies to meet working people before 15 January.

The declaration also supports the right of choosing one's own name on the basis of the generally accepted list of names valid in our country.

Rallies and meetings on revising the decision adopted by the State Council and Council of Ministers on 29 December were also held by the collectives of the Electronic Equipment Plant in Plovdiv, the Energy Company and the Khan Krum Machine Building Combine in Turgovishte. The same applies to the collectives of the three factories belonging to the Ruse sugar-processing plants named after Dimitur Blagoev.

A rally of independent democratic forces was organized on 9 September Square in Varna today that supported the decision of the State Council and Ministers Council related to the Turkish-speaking population in Bulgaria. The speakers critically commented on the unleashed passions of some unreasonable Bulgarians. They stressed that democracy will develop even better only if Bulgaria's entire population is united.

A crowded meeting in support of national unity also took place in Smolyan.

It was organized by the Rodolyubie (Patriotism) Rodope Union and by the Municipal Fatherland Front Committee. The speakers at the rally—which included historians, poets, physicians, journalists, and public figures—expressed their disagreement with the decision adopted on 29 December by the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo, the State Council, and the Council of Ministers.

Trade Unions' Stance

AU0301210690 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 3 Jan 90

[Text] The Provisional Executive Committee of the Bulgarian Trade Unions Central Council issued a declaration appealling to members of Bulgarian Trade Unions to act with common sense in the name of equal rights for all citizens, regardless of their national consciousness, religion, race, and ideological convictions.

We declare ourselves in favor of national consensus and reconciliation; for eliminating the atmosphere and manifestations of hostility; in defense of everyone's human right to freely choose his name, his God, his language, and customs.

With this, we declare that the solution of the problem should take place along the path of free self-determination for everyone without any pressure, regardless from whom and from where it should originate.

We would like to call attention to the fact that the manner in which it has proceeded, despite good intentions, repeats some stereotypes of the command-administrative system. This means in reality that the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee neglected the democratic path and essentially resolved this exceptionally important issue in advance, while this issue is solely subject to the authority of the National Assembly and of the entire people.

The change was announced as an accomplished fact, which should just be legalized. This approach is no longer appropriate and would lead to new mistakes. It should no longer be allowed. The unrest and dissatisfaction that emerged in the country as a result of this showed that the approach was wrong, and this is proved by the requests for a referendum.

The Provisional Executive Committee of the Bulgarian Trade Unions Central Council categorically declares its stand that by rejecting one injustice, one should not commit another injustice, that reliable guarantees are required against the restrictions of the rights and against the privileges on an ethnic basis.

The tension existing within the labor collectives that was accumulated as a result of the difficult situation following the mass exodus from working places should be overcome on a principled basis and in a humanitarian spirit, with gratitude toward those people who remained on their posts and who, with tremendous efforts, maintained the regular pace of economic life, but also with understanding for those who returned to their working places, namely with the healing force of joint labor.

All manifestations of dividing the population should be eliminated from the mixed settlements, and conditions should be guaranteed for the people's peaceful life. We denounce and will resist all attempts of labor and political discrimination and moral pressure against anyone, and we shall insist that the laws should strictly and equally apply to all citizens of our country, and we shall defend their rights of self-determination, says the declaration of the Provisional Executive Committee of the Bulgarian Trade Unions Central Council.

Ruse Union Supports Policy

AU0201095590 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 1 Jan 90

[Text] The Coordination Council of the Union of Democratic Forces in Ruse adopted a declaration on the State Council and Council of Ministers' decision to eliminate the consequences of having forced Bulgarian citizens to change their Muslim names, and the restrictions on their languages, and religious and everyday activities.

The Coordination Council expresses satisfaction with this state act and considers it a step toward democratizing society and turning Bulgaria into a law-governed state.

The declaration poses several questions that still await answers, namely: Does the decision of the State Council and the Council of Ministers apply to all Bulgarian citizens who are limited in their choice of names for their newborns by the lists of names that exist in the municipal people's councils; who and how will the country compensate for the material and moral damage caused by the lawlessness of the authoritarian system?

The Ruse Union of Democratic Forces decisively adheres to dialogue on all issues of social concern and those related to the country's social structure.

Front Supports Decision

AU3012230689 Sofia BTA in English 1737 GMT 30 Dec 89

[Text] Sofia, December 30 (BTA)—The National Council of the Fatherland Front says in a statement that the organisation's leadership supports the resolution of yesterday's plenum of the State Council and the Council of Ministers. It congratulates all Bulgarian citizens belonging to the Turkish-speaking and the Muslim population on the fair settlement of their legitimate grievances.

The Fatherland Front will take a most active part in the wide-ranging consultations on the matter. Most of the people concerned are Fatherland Front members and the organisation will help them get integrated in public activism.

Appeal for Unity

AU3012230389 Sofia BTA in English 1650 GMT 30 Dec 89

["National Concord and Nationwide Unity Appeal"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 30 (BTA)—The Human Rights Committee has issued a declaration welcoming the resolution of the State Council and of the Council of Ministers on the rectification of the abuses and on granting all citizens of Bulgaria the right to a free choice of names, as well as the lifting of all restrictions on the use of another language and on religious practices.

The document points out that the committee called the attention of the former state leadership to the fact that the most flagrant human rights abuses in the country had been committed in connection with the change of the names of the Bulgarian citizens professing Islam. At the end of May 1989 the committee suggested a wide-ranging public dialogue on the reasons for the exodus and the related incidents, but the authorities turned down the suggestion.

The committee now calls on all Bulgarian citizens to be active and vigilant for the elimination of all abuses and of any discrimination whatsoever so that a democratic state committed to the rule of law could be built on the basis of national concord and a consolidation of nationwide unity, the declaration says.

Podkrepa Comments

AU3012230189 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 30 Dec 89

[Text] With regard to the decision of the State Council and the Council of Ministers that grants to all Bulgarian citizens the right to freely choose their names and abolishes the restrictions on use of language and professing a religion, the Podkrepa Independent Labor Federation stated the following view to a representative of the KHORIZONT program:

We consider that the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP], in the person of Todor Zhivkov, has committed a very gross violations, equivalent to crimes, both to the Turkish and Muslim population in Bulgaria, and to Bulgaria as a whole, placing it in the position of an uncivilized country.

Immense difficulties of a domestic-policy and foreign-policy nature were created, for which our country will have to pay a heavy price in the future.

For this reason, it is difficult for us to imagine that we will not prosecute most severely those guilty of committing this antihumanitarian act.

The Podkrepa Independent Labor Federation believes that the decision of the State Council regarding a dialogue, with the participation of all interested public and political forces, will have to be applied on a local basis, and what is more, this should be done without delay. The federation is prepared to send out teams to tour the localities and take part in any possible roundtables precisely with the aim of achieving national consensus.

Leaders Meet Turks

AU0301144390 Sofia RABTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 30 Dec 89 p 4

[Plamen Enchev report: "Victory of Unity"]

[Text] For over 2 days, despite the heavy snowfall and the cold weather, the National Assembly building was surrounded by our Muslim compatriots who insisted that their Turkish-Arab names should be restored to them. Yesterday, indescribable joy engulfed the whole square.

Comrade Aleksandur Lilov appeared before the crowd and announced the decision of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee complying with the aforementioned request.

It is hardly possible to describe what happened after the announcement. People shouted: "Victory, victory!" "Unity!" and congratulated each other. They embraced each other with tears in their eyes, and waved tricolored banners, but this was just the exterior expression of their triumph.

Afterward, a group of people headed for the city center, shaking hands with unknown pedestrians, and accepting their congratultations. In front of the BCP Central Committee Headquarters someone exclaimed: "We lived long enough to see this day, we just could not believe it!" Comrades Petur Mladenov, Georgi Atanasov, Andrey Lukanov, Dobri Dzhurov, and Prodan Stoyanov were coming out of the State Council Headquarters at the same moment and walked toward the Central Committee building. They were immediately surrounded by people, who wished to have a close look at party and state leaders walking without bodyguards and police cordons, and to have a talk with them.

A relaxed conversation followed—people were asked where they came from, where they were working, and how they received the decision about the free choice of their names. A voice was heard saying: "You really gave us a nice New Year's Eve present!" Wishes for a happy and successful New Year were exchanged. "You have our support, we are in favor of the people's unity...." the people said. Comrade Dobri Dzhurov expressed the wish that they may have cheese pie and warm plum brandy on their festive New Year's Eve tables, and that they should not forget to leave a piece of pie and a glass for him....

Accompanied by cheers of approval, the party and state leaders entered the BCP Central Committee headquarters where the afternoon session of yesterday's plenum was about to begin.

Rally for Restoring Muslim Names Held in Madan

AU3112092289 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 27 Dec 89 p 6

[Mikhail Kulishev report under the rubric "My Viewpoint": "Event of an Independent Movement, or...."]

[Excerpts] Smolyan, 26 December (Oblast correspondent Mikhail Kulishev)—In recent months the population of the central Rhodopes has also been following the processes of renewal with marked interest, and supports the decisive steps to bring the political and economic situation in the country back to normal.

At the same time, increasing alarm is being caused by the fact that the self-appointed emissaries of glasnost and freedom of speech and religion are coming from the interior of the country to preach to the local population on the restoration of their Turkish-Arabic names, and also to raise the nonexistent "Pomak issue" from behind the mask of the people's unity.

The rally held in Madan on Sunday, 24 December, which was organized by the Independent Association for Defense of Human Rights, was a demonstration of blatant incitement and gross interference in the personal and family matters of the citizens of Madan Municipality. Not without the active participation of the association's leader Rumen Vodenicharov and a group of his supporters, exultant groups from the regions of Gotse Delchev, Velingrad, Kurdzhali, Khaskovo, Burgas, Varna, Razgrad, and other districts appeared in the early hours of Sunday morning on the square in Madan. Even before the rally started, they were chanting slogans. On the placards and slogans, most of which had nothing in common with democracy and good intentions, and were not aimed at consolidating society, one could read words like: "The Zhivkovites are still in power—We want all of them to resign." "Nikolay Khaytov—enemy of the Muslims" [a prominent Bulgarian novelist and short-story writer], "The chief mufti—traitor to his race," and so on. When the speakers mentioned the names of people who had engaged in leading work with the Muslim population of the region at the time of the revival process, the sky over Madan shook with cries of: "Down with them," "Resign," "Bring them to trial," and sometimes voices could even be heard crying: "Death!" [passage omitted]

Many of those present asked themselves with good reason why Rumen Vodenicharov and his retinue had come with people from other parts of the country to hold a rally in Madan. Was this not clearly a manipulation aimed at creating a perverted picture of the desires, thoughts, and attitudes of the Madan population?! Surely everyone knows that the people in this region for almost 20 years have never had any other names, and support justice, unity, and the democratic solving of problems? Do they want to turn fathers against sons, and brothers against sisters?! [passage omitted]

Preperations Under Way for Roundtable Talks

Lukanov Discusses Talks

AU2712094189 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 19 Dec 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Dialogue in the Name of Socialist Renewal"]

[Text] Some Western radio stations recently reported on a forthcoming "roundtable" discussion that is supposed to take place between the official authorities and the Union of Democratic Forces in our country. It was mentioned that preliminary talks had taken place with the participation of Comrades Andrey Lukanov and Georgi Atanasov, and also with the participation of Zhelyu Zhelev and other representatives of the union.

The RABOTNICHESKO DELO editorial board interviewed Comrade Andrey Lukanov, asking him to clarify this question. This is what he declared to our readers:

"It is natural that a political party that expressses its support for the democratization of society and for pluralism should establish and maintain broad contacts with the social forces.

"This policy of an active and constructive dialogue in the name of the country's socialist renewal was unmistakably confirmed by the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee December Plenum. We think that the traditional, as well the newly established, social structures should participate in this dialogue.

"The talks you mentioned—that, at this stage, could be described as a free exchange of opinions and evaluations—should be regarded in the context of our aspirations and readiness to conduct such a dialogue.

"As to the organization of a 'round table,' we have no such agreement. The consent to conduct a dialogue should be specified, on the basis of our joint agreement with all interested social forces to search for the most appropriate subjects and forms of implementing such talks. It is my personal conviction that we should devote our efforts to the most varied forms of dialogue, in accordance with the nature of the problems discussed and of the goals we are striving for. It would be correct to begin with the most crucial and urgent problems—such as the problems of the socioeconomic situation and the practical program on overcoming the manifestations of crisis in the economic sphere. The report of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and the resolution adopted by the party's December plenum determined our political line in this field. Unlike the traditions of the past, we do not intend to impose our program upon society. The final decisions shall be adopted by the National Assembly at the forthcoming January 1990 session, after all alternative ideas and proposals have been thoroughly analyzed. This, in our opinion, is the most important aspect of the forthcoming consultations with social organizations, trade unions, independent structures, and individual authoritative experts.

"A dialogue on these issues and the other important social problems is the only realistic method of achieving the high level of national consent and unity of action that is required today as a decisive prerequisite for a successful restructuring."

Democratic Union Delegation

AU3012153289 Sofia BTA in English 1344 GMT 30 Dec 89

["Union of Democratic Forces Delegation to Roundtable Procedural Talks"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 30 (BTA)—Dr Zhelyo Zhelev, chairman of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS), is listed as number one in the 14-member SDS delegation to the procedural discussions on round-table negotiations with the official authorities.

The delegation includes Mr Petur Beron, secretary of the Union of Democratic Forces, leaders of the parties and the independent groups within the umbrella organisation, as well as the SDS spokesman.

The following organisations are represented in the delegation: the Bulgarian Workers Social Democratic Party (United), the Nikola Petkov Bulgarian Agrarian People's Union, the Club of Victims of Post-1945 Repressions, the Independent Association for the Protection of Human Rights, the Ecoglasnost Independent Association, the Podkrepa Independent Labour Federation, the Glasnost and Democracy Club, the Civic Initiative Movement, the Committee for Defence of Religious Rights, Freedom of Conscience and Spiritual Values, the Independent Student Societies and the Radical Democratic Party.

The Union of Democratic Forces has also announced the composition of a group of its experts for the talks.

The preliminary discussions to specify the procedural arrangements for the roundtable talks will be held on January 2 or 3, 1990.

The SDS declaration dated December 19, 1989, said that roundtable talks should be held on an equal footing between the SDS Coordinating Council and the government on the most pressing and urgent questions concerning the present state of the country. The union wants the negotiations to be held openly and to produce a document binding on the parties. The declaration said that the first session should settle matters of procedure: venue and agenda of the talks and composition of the negotiators' teams.

On December 27 Prof Ivan Angelov, spokesman for the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party], made a statement saying that the Politburo of the CC of the BCP was glad to announce that an agreement in principle had been reached with the SDS on holding roundtable consultations.

Democratic Forces Platform

AU0201221990 Sofia BTA in English
1901 GMT 2 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia, January 2 (BTA)—The Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) today announced its platform for the preliminary roundtable talks with the official authorities which will start tomorrow.

A declaration released for circulation lists demands for the repeal of the entire Article 1 of the Constitution. (The motion introduced in the National Assembly by the Parliamentary Factions of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] and the BZNS [Bulgarian National Agrarian Union] envisages only the abolition of Paras 2 and 3 of that article which codify the leading role of the BCP in alliance with the BZNS. Para 1 reads: "The People's Republic of Bulgaria is a socialist state of the working people from town and country, headed by the working class.")

The SDS suggests that the workplace primary BCP organizations be disbanded, that the BCP and the BZNS be separated from the state in financial, personnel and structural terms, and that the Army, the police, the law courts and the prosecutors' offices be depoliticized.

The democratic forces want a multiparty system to be tangibly guaranteed by the passage of a parties and other political organisations act. They insist on freedom of political activity and on a break of the BCP radio and television monopoly.

They will further urge for a separation of legislative, executive and judicial power, for the holding of free elections in 1990 under a new democratic electoral law, for bringing domestic legislation into line with the country's international commitments and for working out fundamental principles of a comprehensive concept on the ethnic problem.

The democratic forces declare themselves in favor of equality before the law of all forms of ownership: state, cooperative and private and of a repeal of the unconstitutional laws and subordinated legislation acts, such as the National Police Force Act, the Temporary Residence Ordinance, etc.

The Union of Democratic Forces dissociates itself from the overtly chauvinistic views which have taken shape in the recently formed other political structures which otherwise share, in general lines, the union's views on the democratization process. Distancing itself from the chauvinism, jingoism, nihilism and the ad hoc solutions to the ethnic problem, the Union of Democratic Forces will resolutely stand up for the national independence and for the achievement of national consolidation on a democratic basis, the declaration says.

It recalls that the forthcoming negotiations will be essentially negotiations on a peaceful transition from a totalitarian to a democratic society. At the forthcoming roundtable discussions, there are no plans to consider questions concerning power sharing or participation in a coalition government with already discredited totalitarian structures.

The union declares that the official public organizations cannot represent a separate negotiating party at the roundtable talks because they are an integral part of the Fatherland Front rule.

Christian Democracy Group

AU0301125890 Sofia BTA in English
1205 GMT 3 Jan 90

["Christian Democracy Action on Roundtable"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, January 3 (BTA)—How to introduce a representative government in Bulgaria—this is, according to the organization Action for Christian Democracy "European Bulgaria" the pith of the matter which should be discussed during the roundtable talks which are starting today. The opposition and the authorities should reach an agreement as to the formation of a provisional government and ensuring a transitional period before the elections of at least half a year, thus allowing the opposition forces to form and prepare for elections based on the proportional system, so that the newly elected National Assembly can really express all important yearnings of the people.

The action considers that the roundtable has no right to make decisions because it is not a legal institution, nor has it a representative character. The government which the roundtable may possibly form is qualified as a nonconstitutional hybrid for the transition to constitutionalism.

Preliminary Talks Begin

AU0301114990 Sofia BTA in English
1138 GMT 3 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia, January 3 (BTA)—The talks concerning the procedures for the roundtable of the leaders of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP], the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS), members of the parliamentary groups of the two parties and a delegation of the Union of Democratic Forces opened today. The talks are held in the National Assembly. Before it there were consultations between representatives of the BCP, the BZNS, public organizations and creative workers' unions.

Procedures Discussed

AU0301152490 Sofia BTA in English
1450 GMT 3 Jan 89

[Text] Sofia, January 3 (BTA)—Talks started on the procedural questions of the "roundtable" between the governing parties, the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS), and the Union of Democratic Forces (UDF).

The talks are held at the National Assembly. The first meeting lasted three hours. The spokesmen of the delegations announced that the talks will continue in the afternoon.

The spokesman of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] Prof Ivan Angelov said: Our side proposes the forming of working groups on the political reform, economy or the social-economic policy, ecology, the legal system. The UDF prefers to deal mostly with the political system. Some of them showed understanding that the economy also must be present in the talks. There is no final solution yet.

The meeting is attended by Andrey Lukanov and Aleksandur Lilov, members of the Politburo and secretaries of the CC of the BCP, Belcho Belchev, member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP and minister of finance, Georgi Pirinski, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, Svetla Daskalova and Viktor Vulkov, secretaries of the Standing Committee of the BZNS, Svetoslav Shivarov, member of the Standing Committee of the BZNS, and Academician Blagovest Sendov and Lyuben Kulishev, independent M.P.'s.

The delegation of the UDF includes Zhelyu Zhelev, chairman of the UDF, Petur Beron, secretary of the UDF, and leaders of independent organizations that are members of the UDF.

Further on Procedures

AU0301200890 Sofia BTA in English
1902 GMT 3 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia, January 3 (BTA)—Representatives of the ruling parties (the BCP [Bulgarian Communist party] and the Bulgarian Agrarian Party [BZNS]) opened consultations with representatives of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS). The talks are held in a constructive spirit. They are expected to end tomorrow with an agreement on the procedures of holding roundtable consultations, said Prof. Ivan Angelov, spokesman for the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP, and Mr Georgi Spasov, spokesman for the Union of Democratic Forces.

The first round of the roundtable talks will be probably set for mid-January. One major issue related to the negotiating process is which organizations should be represented. Prior to the consultations with the SDS, the representatives of the BCP and the BZNS conferred with leaders of the Bulgarian Trade Unions, the Dimitrov Young Communist League, the Fatherland Front, the public and cultural unions and organizations, some of whom insisted on being represented at the roundtable talks.

Roundtable Discussions Held in Kurdzhali

AU0301152390 Sofia Domestic Service
in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 3 Jan 90

[Text] A roundtable discussion was held in Kurdzhali between representatives of the local Committee for Citizens' Unity and the Sofia National Reconciliation Committee.

Following prolonged discussions and debates, the participants in the talk reached unanimity of thought on the essential points. The right of every Bulgarian citizen to freely and individually to choose his name and religion was confirmed. Opinions differed on the question of adopting a decision on the national issue. The National Reconciliation Committee was in favor of a quicker decision, and not as the declaration of the Committee for Citizens' Unity requested, namely, that the decision should be postponed until after the two January sessions of the National Assembly.

Following the aforementioned meeting and discussion, the representatives of the two committees visited enterprises, offices, and trade establishments of the city where they discussed the same problems with the workers collectives.

Lilov's Plenum Speech on Ethnic Issue

AU0301104190 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 30 Dec 89 p 3

[Report by Aleksandur Lilov, Politburo member and secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP) Central Committee, to BCP Central Committee plenum in Sofia on 29 December: "On Overcoming the Abuses Committed in Relation to the Turkish-Speaking and Muslim Population in Bulgaria"]

[Text] Comrades, I have been allotted the onerous task of reporting to the Central Committee plenum the viewpoint of the Politburo regarding an exceptionally complex problem of our party's policy at the present period and in the present situation.

I would like to begin by stating something of which every member and candidate member of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] must be clearly aware, namely that today we have to discuss and decide one of the most acute, most delicate, and most difficult political issues affecting our country's restructuring.

It is a most difficult issue, because it represents the flash point of the situation in Bulgaria at the moment. Here unforeseeable events may occur if we fail to take the initiative and resolve this problem in good time, and permit the tension, which is high even now, to continue to increase, or leave the problem in the hands of the extremists.

It is a most delicate issue, because at present the population is really divided into two camps, with feelings of hostility quite clearly expressed between them, although the trend here is a dynamic one—the results of sociological studies indicate a positive development; a further reason is that this issue concerns a very sensitive sphere of social relations, relating to nationality and ethnic questions, and the question of the integrity and unity of our nation.

It is a most difficult issue, because Todor Zhivkov's regime has left us a very grave legacy in this field, one that cannot be resolved in a day, or even in a generation. As history shows, such painful wounds in a nation's body take a long time to heal.

Despite all this, it must be clear to us that we cannot put off resolving this issue; even if we would like to, we cannot, because as a governing party we have no right to ignore the events that are maturing in this sphere, and because we cannot allow the issue to be forced upon us by the elemental force of the present, and especially the future, social unrest.

There are times when the political maturity and political courage of a party and state leadership are tested, and it is precisely at one such moment that we have to resolve this issue. Not everyone will immediately understand and approve our decision if, of course, the Central Committee adopts it, but the future will show—and soon, so we believe—that we are on the right path.

Let us now examine the specifics of the issue.

First of all, it is necessary to establish an amazing and, at first sight, incredible fact. The records of the Central Committee, the Politburo, the Secretariat of the BCP Central Committee, the National Assembly, State Council, and the government contain no official document, decision, report, nor any other document from which it can be seen who adopted this decision, what were the arguments that prompted the decision, and what were the means used to implement the decision.

It is evident that we are dealing here with one of the peak points in the deformation and degradation by Todor Zhivkov's authoritarian regime of the normal functioning of the leading role of the party, its Central Committee, and its Politburo.

It is evident that we are dealing here with an abnormal situation, in which fateful national and state issues were decided by one person or a handful of people, but the responsibility for the decision was loaded onto the entire party, the whole of the Central Committee and the Politburo, while the consequences became a burden for all the people.

It is evident that we are dealing here not merely with a blunder of a party dictator, in the person of Todor Zhivkov, who had forgotten himself, but with a depth of degeneration that made things like this possible—today it is impossible for us to say who adopted this decision and why.

All this not only must be reported to the members of the Central Committee, but also must be grasped by them, in order that this is never repeated again in our party.

The issue that we have to discuss and decide today has three aspects, three sets of problems:

First, the assessment of the actual decision to change the names of the Bulgarian Turkish-speaking and Muslim population and, more broadly, to "create an ethnically undivided Bulgarian nation," and the assessment of the means used to implement this decision and the ensuing consequences.

(This issue cannot be further postponed. It must be decided today, because tomorrow will be too late.)

Second, the elaboration of a complete policy toward this population with a view to achieving true national unity and national consolidation in the building of a modern, democratic, and civilized socialist Bulgaria.

(This issue requires serious and more lengthy treatment both by the party and by the other political and social forces in the country.)

Third, the provision of stable and long-lasting guarantees for the country's territorial and state integrity, for our national interests and security. Here there is no room for hesitation or compromise. All possibilities must be eliminated for encroachments upon our integrity and security, for interference in our internal affairs, or for creating a "fifth column" of Turkey in Bulgaria. The plans that anyone may have of achieving now, or in the future, political autonomy, demographical "absorption," or a "Cyprus version" inside the borders of free and sovereign socialist Bulgaria can only be assessed as a wild venture, and people who entertain such ideas can only be described as being hostilely disposed toward Bulgaria.

At the same time, the prerequisites must be created for quickly emerging from our present international isolation with regard to this issue, and we must also provide an impetus for the normalization of Bulgarian-Turkish relations based on principles and mutual benefit.

(We must make an immediate start on developing and resolving this issue, and must continue to keep it under constant review.)

All in all, the pressing political task that must now be resolved might be formulated as follows: to overcome the gross blunders and abuses committed by T. Zhivkov's regime in resolving the problems connected with the Bulgarian Turkish-speaking and Muslim population.

The party must re-evaluate this decision.

The party must condemn the errors and abuses.

The party must create conditions and begin to work very actively and responsibly to overcome the division and confrontation that has come about within the nation.

The party must do everything in order to eliminate both the "Islamic fundamentalism" and the "Bulgarian chauvinism" that are quickly developing and increasing to a dangerous degree in the present situation.

The conclusion that must be reached is as follows: The new party leadership and the new course of policy that it has announced cannot be established and implemented unless we dissociate ourselves from the grave political inheritance left by the Todor Zhivkov regime, and unless we come out with a clear evaluation of this legacy. Here runs one of the political watersheds between the party's old and new lines, between the old and new leaderships of the party and state, between authoritarian socialism and the socialism that is renewing itself.

It is true that we have to make such a responsible decision under the strong polarization and dual pressure of the public attitudes, and with time at a premium, but, as is well-known, politics and politicians deal with realities and cannot choose the conditions in which they work. It is necessary to act here and now.

What kind of assessment does the Politburo believe should be given to the decision we are discussing, and to the way it was implemented? The answer is, an ideological and theoretical assessment.

It must be clearly stated that, taken as a whole, this decision does not rest on a Marxist-Leninist foundation and does not stem from the progressive revolutionary and democratic traditions in our history, especially the traditions of our revival and national liberation struggle.

From an ideological and theoretical viewpoint, this was a profoundly erroneous decision. Why is this so?

—It is because it represents a deviation from the principles of socialism concerning determining national consciousness and self-awareness, namely through self-determination, and not on an ethnic or biological basis.

—It is because it represents a departure from the Marxist concept of the nation. In two existing documents (Todor Zhivkov's appeal and a report presented to first secretaries of okrug committees) the task is formulated of "creating an ethnically undivided Bulgarian nation." This is a false formulation. Nations, our own included, may be formed, and are indeed formed, from differing ethnic elements. It is precisely here, in the postulate concerning "ethnic indivisibility," that the nucleus of many subsequent errors, actions, and consequences lies.

—It is because it is built upon a serious misunderstanding and distortion of the means for shaping national awareness, leading to a policy for shaping the Bulgarian consciousness by coercive measures, including violence, through the compulsory changing of names, customs, cultural originality, and so on.

—It is because it imposes a serious, and in many cases dangerous, distortion on the correct understanding of the concept of patriotism—not as love for and devotion to one's native land, and for building a new socialist and democratic Bulgaria, but as "fully incorporating these citizens into the Bulgarian socialist nation." From this interpretation of patriotism to nationalism is only a short step, and this step is usually made very quickly and easily.

—It is because the very formulation of the process of name-changing as "a process of revival" was false as a general definition of actual reality, and therefore unsound. A deeper and more objective analysis of the facts will reveal not revival and progress, but destruction and retrogression from views, relationships, feelings, political stances, and so on that have already been achieved and established in our people's consciousness. Here we are dealing not with an objectively prepared and genuinely occurring process of revival, but with gross willfulness and distortion of the processes for building up the unity, integrity, and patriotism of our people and our nation.

—Lastly, it is because this decision is a departure from our own progressive traditions in this exceptionally complex and important field. This is what none other than Vasil Levski wrote in his draft statute for the Bulgarian Revolutionary Central Committee: "On this very same spot that our forefathers redeemed by force of arms and with their own blood, where now the Turkish ruffians and janissaries run amok in their inhuman way, and where the law of force holds sway, let a temple be erected to truth and rightful liberty, and let the Turkish despot give way to concord, brotherhood, and perfect equality between all nationalities. Bulgarians, Turks, Jews, and others will possess equal rights in each and every respect, they will all come under one and the same common law, which will be chosen by all the peoples by a majority vote."

We must also provide a political assessment, as follows:

It must be stated clearly and openly that this fundamentally unprincipled policy resulted in a gross political error, with serious immediate and long-term domestic and international consequences for the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

This truth should not be concealed, however distressing it may be for us, for otherwise the mistake cannot be corrected and the consequences cannot be overcome.

At the same time, it must be stated clearly and openly that the main guilt for this political error lies at the door of Todor Zhivkov and his closest supporters. On the one hand, this was one of the most acute manifestations of the great distortions and crimes committed by his regime and, on the other, it was an attempt to divert the attention of the party and society from the serious political, economic, and moral crisis that came to a head in the country after 1984.

More specifically, the political assessment may be summarized in the following form:

—The creation of hostile relations and feelings between two sections of the Bulgarian people who had lived in harmony and understanding with one another for decades, with all the consequences stemming from this. A deep wound was opened up, which will long remain a source of tension and take generations to heal. No state can prosper if its people are divided.

—The use of force and violent means, including weapons, and commission of illegal acts, leading to the appearance of terrorist counteractions. Todor Zhivkov's slogan was: "Incorporation by Fire and the Sword." However incredible it may seem, it is a fact that the watchword of the Inquisition was imposed as a party slogan in one of the most sensitive spheres of social development.

—The intensification of Islamic fundamentalism and resurgences of Bulgarian nationalism.

—The emigration of over 310,000 persons, including 5,400 party members, and the submission of applications for travel documents by a further 400,000 persons led to exceptionally great difficulties in the country's economy and domestic and foreign policies.

—The creation of zones of high social and political tension, in which explosive actions may be provoked on an unforeseeable scale and with unforeseeable consequences, especially following the events in neighboring Romania.

—Damage to confidence in the party and in the legality, humanity, justice, and equality of our socialist society. Now we will encounter the phenomenon of dual distrust, on the part of both the Bulgarian-speaking and Turkish-speaking sections of our people. Let us not mention the cadres, organs of law and order, scientific workers, and others, who were directly engaged in conducting this campaign.

—The diplomatic isolation of Bulgaria in connection with this issue. We received no support here in the Balkans, in Europe, nor in the world at large, nor even from any socialist country.

The converse was true: The foreign policy effect of this action was totally negative, while the image of socialist Bulgaria was extremely unflattering. Not only were we not supported and not understood, we were thought of as a state where everything is possible, that is, as an insufficiently civilized state.

We must also make a practical assessment of the course of the process:

Most of the members of the Central Committee are well acquainted with the distortions permitted during the post-1984 period in the practical implementation of the so-called "revival process." For this reason I will not enter into a detailed exposition of the facts here.

However, some indisputable and particularly reprehensible matters must be mentioned, namely:

—The absolute willfulness in making the decision.

—The concealed leadership of the process—not by the Central Committee or Politburo, nor by the competent state organs, but by a small clique of people trusted by Todor Zhivkov.

—The authorization of violence and lawlessness. You will see from the official report of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, which the Politburo is making available to you, that troops of the Ministry of Internal Affairs took part in this, weapons were used, casualties occurred, there were cases of terrorist acts, criminal acts, convictions, imprisonment on Belene Island, and so on.

—The Army, as emerges from the report of the Ministry of National Defense, which is also being made available to you, to the party's honor and good fortune, took no part in any incident of this campaign.

—Strong administrative pressure was allowed to be brought to bear on this population during the name changing, and an intolerable and humiliating attitude was shown toward those who returned to Bulgaria.

In this part of the assessment, the issue of personal responsibility is now being raised with great acuteness, especially by the independent groups and movements.

It is clear that it is impossible for us to evade this question, even if we want to.

The view of the Politburo is as follows:

1. The political responsibility for this arbitrary decision is borne by Todor Zhivkov personally and his closest entourage. The commission that is dealing with these issues will have to also examine this part of their culpability before the party and the people.

2. The former minister of internal affairs, Georgi Tanev, bears a certain amount of personal responsibility.

3. Some responsibility is also borne by those comrades of the former leadership and Central Committee apparatus who were directly involved in the immediate management of this campaign.

4. As far as the low-level cadres are concerned, they bear no political responsibility for the adoption of the decision. Only those who committed illegal acts or were involved in arbitrary acts or corruption will have to answer individually for their actions.

5. An amnesty should be granted to those political prisoners who were convicted in connection with the name changing and who were not associated with terrorist activities. Those expelled from their home areas must be resettled there. Persons illegally dismissed should be given their jobs back, and the same applies to students expelled from their courses. Measures must be taken to provide housing.

In general, a great degree of maturity and wisdom will have to be shown with regard to the issue of responsibility, in order not to permit the transfer of personal responsibility to the entire party, evasion of responsibility, or a total strike against the cadres who carried out the instructions "from above."

It is a difficult, almost insoluble political equation, but we must nonetheless find the solution to it that is wisest, fairest, and most acceptable for society.

It is appropriate at this point for us to get things straight and adopt a correct orientation in the work of overcoming the permitted abuses. It will be wrong for us not to condemn the abuses and bring those responsible personally to account. However, it will be just as wrong if we direct our main efforts, energy, and awareness to this area. We must remember that this is not a question of victors and vanquished, but a drama that must be lived through to the bitter end, an error that must be condemned and eradicated, a critical situation that must be overcome.

The chief thing now is not retribution, but reconciliation. It is true that a certain degree of tension has been created between the two sections of the Bulgarian population. This is one of the most distressing results of this fundamentally erroneous policy. The decision indeed provoked confrontation between the two sections, and the consequences of its implementation have created negative feelings and attitudes between them during the last 3-4 years, and especially in 1989.

We will be wrong to underestimate the seriousness of this fact and the dangers inherent in this situation. Quite the reverse, we need to display soberness and political wisdom. The party must raise the slogan of national consensus, conciliation, and overcoming of the insults and hostility. However, we will be equally wrong to underestimate our people's maturity, political awareness, and sense of civic responsibility. The party must appeal to both sections of the population with faith, respect, and understanding. Our policy on this question is crystal clear: If we want what is good and progressive for Bulgaria, we must now unite ourselves, and not continue to dig even deeper the trench of separation that has been created. We must appeal to the people's common sense, and involve everyone who holds Bulgaria dear in the work of healing the wound that now exists.

The Politburo believes that, if the party manages without delay, this very day, to state the truth openly and honestly, condemn the committed errors, and explain its new policy, then the two sections of the population will support the new policy not only as the right one, but also as the policy of salvation regarding this issue.

As a governing party, we will fight for equal rights of all Bulgarian citizens, without regard for their self-awareness of their nationality, religion, race, or ideology. There must be complete freedom in choosing, preserving, or changing names. The chief criterion for the patriotism of every Bulgarian citizen is not his name, but his attitude toward his native land, and the abilities he shows and his real participation in the restructuring of a new Bulgaria.

What alternative solutions exist for this problem?

Several possible alternatives for emerging from the critical situation were submitted to the Politburo for discussion. I will describe all three alternatives to you, but want to stress at the start that the Politburo unanimously and categorically supported the first one.

First alternative—the radical one:

In general terms, this comprises the following:

1. Condemnation and rejection of the decision and the ensuing action as a gross ideological and political blunder committed by Todor Zhivkov and his entourage.

2. Issuing an instruction to the BCP parliamentary group to submit to the National Assembly at its very next session the question of adopting a special document (declaration or appeal) on this question, in which all rights are restored to that population, in accordance with the Constitution and the Vienna concluding document.

3. Guaranteeing of the following rights to this population:

—The right of free choice of name.

—The right of free profession of faith.

—Given that Bulgarian is acknowledged and used as the official language, the right to speak in their own language without restriction.

— All rights of Bulgarian citizens stemming from the Constitution and the laws—without restrictions and without privileges.

Second alternative—the transitional one.

All rights are restored and guaranteed to this population, with the exception of names.

A possible subsidiary version of this alternative might be to allow free adoption of the first two names, as is the practice worldwide, but the Politburo considered that such a tradition does not exist in Bulgaria, and accordingly this decision was unlikely to prove successful.

A second subsidiary version might be the replacement of only the first name, a person's own name, that is, the "choice" of one's own name, but not of one's patronymic and surname. However, this too will be a halfway decision, which might be interpreted as an attempt at demagogy on the part of the party with regard to this question and the assimilation policy of the Todor Zhivkov regime.

Third alternative:

Preserving the status quo. The Politburo considers that this is merely an abstract possibility, which is politically shortsighted and unfeasible in practical terms. This alternative would lead to both the party's policy for the restructuring and democratization of Bulgarian society and the new party leadership becoming severely discredited.

This, comrades, is the essence of the issue, and these are the main elements of the Politburo's deliberations and proposals on this problem. They naturally affect our party's stance on this general issue of nationality [obshtonatsionalen vupros]. If the Central Committee finds them correct and approves them by a majority vote, in the words of the great apostle of freedom [Vasil Levski], then our parliamentary group must submit a proposal to the National Assembly on broad consultations with all the country's social and political forces, all the more because some of them are addressing this issue seriously, constructively, and responsibly. This will be in the spirit, and a continuation of the party's adopted policy of honest dialogue with its allies, partners, and opponents in our socialist society that is undergoing renewal.

Lukanov's Report to BCP CC Plenum

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[Report by Andrey Lukanov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP) Central Committee, to the BCP Central Committee 29 December plenum in Sofia: "Party With New Image and Characteristics, Modern, Democratic, and People's Party"]

[Text] Comrades, as we all keenly understand, we must review issues and adopt decisions that will be of fateful importance for the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP], socialism, and Bulgaria's future.

The BCP has repeatedly found itself at a historic crossroads. Such is the time that the party and country have been experiencing since 10 November. Bulgaria quickly and decisively joined the processes of democratization and renewal that have already engulfed all European socialist states. The dynamic character and complexity of the events must not prevent us from seeing the main thing. Democracy and political pluralism are ever more becoming the social reality and are acquiring a truly irreversible character. As a party that gave the decisive impetus to those processes, we must understand that they are not and cannot be the result of someone's subjective will and actions. They are the objective result of the development of modern human society and civilization to which we belong. There is no real alternative. We must stress this in order to understand that the construction of the civic society and the democratic, humane, and law-governed socialist state is not a political whim or a matter of tactics, but the only possible road for us to follow. There is no future for the BCP or socialism outside this road.

This conclusion immediately poses the next question—is our party ready and able to work, and furthermore, be a leading political force in a really dynamic and pluralistic society? This is the main question that the forthcoming 14th Extraordinary BCP Congress must answer. This is the essence of its responsibility to the Communists, Bulgarian people, and history.

The delegates of the 14th Extraordinary BCP Congress and the Communists they will represent will express themselves on this matter. However, it is already clear that the party has the chance to continue to be the leading political force only if it passes without delay through the process of its own radical renewal. Only a renewed, one could even say a new, party, could respond to the challenges posed by the developments in our internal political life and the logic of world developments.

This must be the party that carries within itself and develops the best and most valuable elements of its rich traditions, heroic past, great historical experience, and the principles and ideals to which many generations and hundreds of thousands of Communists devoted their entire work and life. Yet, this must be a party that strives toward the future and has a new image and characteristics. We would like to impart certain preliminary considerations about the directions of party renewal.

In the first place, the real renewal of the party presupposes its final and total de-Stalinization. Now it is no longer sufficient to disassociate ourselves politically from Stalinism, and define it as an anti-Marxist deviation from the essential goals and principles of socialism. It is necessary to overcome the prejudices and mental stereotypes inherited from the epoch of Stalinism. The main thing is to show steady determination in eliminating the accumulations left by Stalinism in the organizational and cadre principles and norms, on which internal life in our party is based to a large degree.

Under conditions of democracy and pluralism, the only party that can succeed is one whose internal life is based on democratic and pluralistic principles. Otherwise, the party will find itself in a fatal confrontation with the new sociopolitical reality, which the party itself proclaims as being the goal and meaning of its activity, and would turn into a braking force on the democratic changes, instead of being their initiator and main political support.

The party must assert itself as the party of dialogue and social consensus. This presupposes the elimination of all fractional breaking powers, the syndrome of exclusivity, and our habit of isolating ourselves. Having firmly announced that we relinquish our monopoly status in society, we must present real evidence of our sincere readiness to cooperate with all public forces, and all Bulgarians who share our main goal—the construction of a humane and democratic law-governed state, and the revolutionary renewal of our society along the road of socialism and in the name of socialism.

The workers class will continue to be the basic social support of the BCP. However, this does not mean that we underestimate in any way the role and place of any class, stratum, or social group whatsoever in Bulgarian society. It is not division and confrontation, but rather unity and cooperation of all people in the name of Bulgaria's progress—this is and will be our steady position.

Our party must prove with its deeds that it is the party of social progress and the new factors that are dynamically emerging in the development of Bulgarian society and modern civilization. I do not mean only the technological innovations and scientific discoveries, but also the new principles of organizing social and economic life, the new forms of democracy, the new intellectual assets, new relations among people, the new place of man in modern society, and the new attitude of society toward man.

We have all the prerequisites to be the party of progress, if we rely on the great potential of creative Marxism-Leninism, the Marxist method of social analysis, and the collective experience of restructuring in the USSR and the other socialist states, which enriches itself virtually daily with new ideas, approaches, and solutions.

The party must boldly open itself to the world, toward its searches and achievements, and the phenomena and tendencies that are forming the civilization of the 21st century before our very eyes.

Relying on our Marxist point of view and our criteria of assessment, we must at the same time see ourselves and our nation as an active and interested participant in the new global processes and in the search for solutions for universal and global problems on which the development and survival of mankind today depend. This is the profound historical essence of the new political thinking, which emerged and strengthened, first of all, thanks to the consistent efforts of the Soviet leadership, headed by Mikhail Gorbachev. We shall support those efforts in a convinced and active manner.

Born 100 years ago as the party of revolutionary Marxism, our party remains loyal to its origins and historical roots. However, the experience of recent decades shows that our claim, as well as the claim of other ruling Communist Parties, to exclusively embody modern socialism, was illusionary. The fundamental Leninist thesis about the diversity of forms and manifestations of socialism and the specific characteristics and differences in the transition to socialism was fully confirmed. Hardly anyone today could dispute the theoretical and practical contribution of the socialist and social democratic parties to asserting original forms of social and economic organization. The progressive forces in the developed and developing countries and the Nonaligned Movement made an essential contribution to forming the ideas and values of the modern world. This presupposes an opening to everything positive and progressive, produced by the contemporary social thought and practice, while preserving our unique nature as a Marxist-Leninist party.

Born as a direct heir of the revolutionary-democratic forces and tendencies in the struggle for the liberation of Bulgaria, our party has always been strongest when its organic connection with the Bulgarian people was strongest. The authoritarian regime and administrative-command system inflicted much damage also in this area. Now it is vitally important for us to assert through our actions and positions the notion of the party as a national party and a political force that is vitally connected with the Bulgarian people and expresses through its policy the people's assessments, interests, and strivings.

At the same time, we have always been and will continue to be loyal to our international principles and the close alliance and solidarity that connect us with the CPSU and the other communist and workers parties in the socialist community and throughout the world.

Comrades, only such a modern, democratic, and people's party will be able to withstand the test of time and lead Bulgaria toward a democratic and humane socialism.

We all understand that such a renewal of the party will inevitably represent a process that will pass through several stages and will require time and great moral and intellectual effort on the part of the party as a whole, and on the part of every Communist. However, at the same time we must clearly understand that history will not wait for us. The preparation for and conduct of the 14th Extraordinary BCP Congress must not merely accelerate the process of renewal, but also give it depth, dynamics, and elan, so that it encompasses our entire party from the top to the bottom, and becomes an irreversible process.

In order to achieve this it is necessary to clearly and precisely determine the main tasks of the extraordinary congress. The Politburo thinks that it would be unrealistic to strive toward the adoption of a program document at the congress. This is a task that requires more time and that will be resolved while taking into consideration the real political processes that are now developing in the country. We will have to specify our program goals by taking into consideration the development of the social dialogue, the opinions of our allies and opponents, and the moods and shifts in the Bulgarian society, which has awoken for real sociopolitical life.

The report on behalf of the Politburo, read by Comrade Petur Mladenov on the last day of the December plenum, and the plenum's resolution presented our intentions and positions on the most essential issues of national life. We shall specify and enrich those intentions and positions on the basis of real social practice. We think that at the congress it will be necessary not only to comprehensively and profoundly assess the sociopolitical situation in the country, but also to adopt a political declaration on that basis. This declaration should propose to the Communists and entire society a clear vision of the party about its basic goals at the present historic stage and about the new image and characteristics of that democratic and human socialism toward which we aspire, and for which we will struggle.

The following issues now acquire special importance for us:

—The adoption of a new BCP statute at the extraordinary congress;

—the decisive renewal of party cadres from the bottom to the top, on the basis of a fundamentally new approach to the precongressional accountability-election campaign.

Without dwelling here in detail on the problems related to working out the new statute, because we think that this should be done by a special commission, we would like to share certain considerations with the participants in the plenum.

First, the new statute must give the necessary organizational and political guarantees for restructuring the entire internal party life and placing it on a democratic foundation. This presupposes first of all, to turn the individual party member and the primary party organization into a full-fledged participant in party life, one who really participates in forming and implementing party policy. This cannot be achieved unless we eliminate the feudal-hierarchical relations between the party organs and organizations at the various levels, and unless we relinquish the method of instructions as a basic method of party activity. It is necessary to ensure real autonomy and the right to initiative to the primary party organizations, and release them from the guardianship of the so-called "higher" party organs.

In this context, the issue of relinquishing the principle of democratic centralism is obviously a pressing matter. During the preparation of the new statute and at the congressional discussion, we will have to adopt a final decision. However, it is already clear that this principle cannot be combined with the objective necessity of expanding inner-party pluralism, establishing a new type of relations between majority and minority, and asserting glasnost and publicity in party activity. One thing is already clear—under conditions of profound democratization and political pluralism in our whole society the party cannot continue to be a strictly centralized organization. It is necessary for a party, especially if it is a ruling party, to achieve the unity of goals and actions not by instilling formal discipline, but through a broad and civilized discussion and the free confrontation of different alternatives, platforms, and ideas, so that in the final analysis a political line emerges that can convincingly rally around itself the entire party or the majority of its members.

The bitter experience of the recent past obliges us to incorporate in the new statute all necessary guarantees to prevent the danger of relapses of Stalinism, restoring the authoritarian style, and usurping political power. Generally speaking, this involves the principle of a limited term of office, real elections, accountability on the part of the leading cadres, glasnost within the party, and opening the party to the critical eye of society.

In order to create a party whose main agents are the Communists and their primary party organizations, we must erect efficient barriers against bureaucracy and against its reproduction in any form. This means, first of all, to reduce the party apparatus to the necessary minimum and clearly outline the boundaries of its functions, while being guided by the principle that party policy is formed in the party organizations and their organs, which have been elected by the organizations in a democratic manner. We must create conditions for broadly applying the principle of public service in party activity, while relying on our rich traditions in this sphere. Of course, in organizing its political work, the party will continue to rely on the party functionaries and professional political figures. However, this will be done on the basis of firm statutory guarantees against any attempt to infringe upon the rights and functions that belong exclusively to the elected organs.

Separating the functions of the party and the state is a fundamental issue for us. The merging of those functions at various levels of party and state activity is one of the main characteristics of the administrative-command system and its nutrient medium. Naturally, this is not only a matter for the statute, but also an issue for the constitutional and legislative reform that we shall implement on our way toward the civic society and the law-governed state. However, society expects from us real guarantees and evidence of the party's readiness to fully implement its declared intention to facilitate the separation of functions. Those guarantees and evidence must be included in the statute.

There is a pressing need for cardinal changes in the party's cadre criteria and policy. The democratization of inner-party life, pluralism, and real elections are incompatible with the so-called "nomenklatura principle" in selecting and developing party cadres, which was the main reason for the hypertrophied role of the party apparatus not only in party life, but in our public life in general. There is not and cannot be any other reliable criterion for appointing and developing cadres except the assessment of the Communists and society, formed under conditions of democratization and pluralism.

Finally, a few words about the morality and the requirements in respect of the Communists, and most of all, the Communist leaders, in anything related to their personal behavior and example. We cannot aspire to restore the party's moral authority in the eyes of the Bulgarian people without radically resolving this issue and without unconditionally breaking away from the deformations and abuses that have accumulated throughout the decades. I do not mean to read a sermon but to present a sociopolitical reality, which is characteristic of every civilized civic society. The person who claims a leading role in society must be a person of unimpeachable integrity in the eyes of the people. There is no other way. The new statute must protect us from the possibility of distorting and twisting the evaluation of the party cadres' political, businesslike, and moral qualities, on the part of the Communists and the public, regardless of the reasons used to justify this.

These are merely a few considerations related to the preparation of the draft of the BCP Statute, which will be submitted for discussion at the 14th Extraordinary BCP Congress. We hope that despite the brief period of time that remains, the draft will be prepared with the active participation of the Communists and primary party organizations, and that it will adequately reflect the organizational principles and requirements that spring from the new historical situation we have entered.

Allow me to move on to the issue of electing delegates and the organizational preparation of the congress.

After a thorough discussion the Politburo decided to propose to the plenum that the congress convene not on 19 March 1990, as we decided at the last plenum, but on 30 January 1990. We think that this bringing forward of the date is imposed by the dynamic development of the political situation in the country and the vital need to accelerate the process of renewal in the party in order to prevent delay in resolving pressing organizational and cadre issues.

Many Communists and party organizations sent letters to the BCP Central Committee or proposed at meetings and party rallies that the date of the extraordinary congress be brought forward.

If the plenum agrees to this proposal, we must adopt a completely new approach to conducting the precongressional accountability-election campaign. Its main role will be to make a decisive step forward toward renewing the party, make the urgent changes in the party leaderships, and elect as delegates the most worthy representatives of all units and generations and consistent champions of restructuring, while rallying the Communists around the new political course and around specific practical programs and goals.

The Politburo proposes that accountability-election meetings and conferences of the primary, enterprise, office, village, city, and municipal party organizations be conducted, while refraining from conducting meetings of the party groups.

The spirit and character of the discussion during the meetings and conferences will be of exceptional importance. First of all, it must really be a free and democratic discussion. Its goal will be to allow every Communist and party organization to participate in the analysis and assessment of the political situation in the party and the country, and in forming and specifying the new party course. It is vitally important for us that this discussion sharply prompts the political activity of the Communists, releases their political initiative, and sharpens their sense of responsibility not only in connection with the situation in their place of living, but also in connection with the fate of the party and socialism in our country.

In other words, we now need an all-party discussion of the kind that our party has not had since the first days after 9 September until today. We need friendly tolerance toward the various assessments and opinions and, simultaneously, the skill to find those uniting ideas and premises on the basis of which the dominating assessment of the entire party and the directions of its political activities in the future months will be formed. The recent decisions of the BCP Central Committee plenums, and more specifically the report and resolution of the BCP Central Committee 11-13 December Plenum, must serve as the point of support at this discussion. However, life itself and the factors that today excite the Communists and the entire public—from the problems of and situation at the city districts, municipalities, enterprises, and institutes, to the problems of a nationwide and international character—must be the main source and support of the discussion. The conclusions, decisions, and proposals to the congress can be addressed to it through all possible channels—through the delegates that will be elected, letters and appeals to the congress, and the mass media.

We have already pointed out the importance the party attaches to the radical renewal of the composition of the leading organs and the election of the delegates to the extraordinary congress.

The situation requires that we apply new norms and procedures for electing the members of the party committees and bureaus, their secretaries, and the chairmen and members of the bureaus of the control-auditing and auditing commissions.

We propose to allow the primary, enterprise, office, and other party organizations to determine themselves the manner of electing their secretaries—directly by the meetings, or at meetings of the bureaus.

In order to ensure greater democracy already during the forthcoming accountability-election campaign, we propose to the municipal and oblast party committees that they relinquish the right given to them by the statute to confirm the secretaries of the primary party organizations and the party committees.

A mandatory requirement must be introduced for alternative candidates and competition between two or more candidates for elective organs, as well as the principle of having more candidates than the preliminarily determined number of elective posts. Candidates for posts in the elective organs must be proposed not only by the conference. Such a right also must be given to the primary party organizations.

Candidates who have received the most votes, but not less than 50 percent plus 1, may be considered as elected. A second round must be held if no candidate has received the predetermined necessary number of votes.

The practice of studying public opinion in advance and discussing the proposed members of leading organs by specially elected commissions or at meetings of authorized delegates to the conferences and the congress must assert itself. The election of the secretaries of the relevant party committees as chairmen of the aforementioned commissions and meeting is prohibited.

In order to create conditions for turning the party committees into functioning businesslike organs, it must be recommended to the conferences to elect organs composed of fewer members. It would be useful for the conferences to adopt decisions giving their delegates the mandate to function until the next conference. This will create conditions for holding delegates' meetings if the need for them arises during the period of their mandate. Such a decision can also be adopted about the delegates to the extraordinary congress.

The brief period of time that remains obliges us to create a tight organization and correctly schedule the meetings and conferences.

We propose that the accountability-election meetings in the primary, enterprise, office, village, and city party organizations begin immediately after the plenum and end no later than 15 January 1990.

The municipal conferences (general meetings) must end by 20 January.

We would like to point out again the special importance of the issue of the manner of and approach to electing the delegates to the 14th BCP Extraordinary Congress. The Politburo views this matter not only as an organizational-technical, but also as an important political issue. Furthermore, the Politburo is guided by the understanding that much depends today on the manner in which the leading elective party organs and their membership are elected. The entire party must really participate in resolving this issue.

In accordance with this, the Politburo thinks that while determining the quotas of representation and the manner of electing the delegates to the congress, it is necessary to ensure that every Communist has an opportunity to participate directly in proposing and discussing the candidacy and in electing the delegates.

Guided by the striving to ensure broader representation at the congress, we propose that the Central Committee adopts the quota of 1 delegate to 350 Communists. Thus, about 2,820 delegates will be elected.

We propose to give all party organizations—primary, enterprise, plant, company, office, higher educational establishment, village, township, city, and other organizations—the right to propose candidates as delegates to the congress.

The candidates may be members of the relevant party organization or members of another organization, and enjoy the confidence of the Communists that elect them.

Primary, plant, office, higher educational establishment, city, and other party organizations in which the number of Communists exceeds the representation quota must elect their candidates at meetings or conferences of their members.

At the same time, we think that it would be correct to also ensure party organizations with a smaller membership (for example, 300 members) the right to elect delegates, while at the same time the total number of delegates from the relevant municipal organization should not exceed the representation quota set by the BCP Central Committee.

The rest of the delegates must be elected at municipal party conferences or at general meetings of municipal party organizations after a free and democratic discussion of the candidacies, taking into consideration the proposals made by primary and other party organizations, and conducting secret elections under conditions of competition and alternative candidates. As a rule, there must be at least two candidates for each seat as delegate. In all cases, the number of candidates must be higher than the set number of delegates.

The direct election of delegates to the congress by certain party organizations does not deprive the Communists of the right to propose candidates and participate in the election of other candidates at the municipal party conference.

The delegates to the congress from the party organizations in the Armed Forces of the Bulgarian People's Army must be proposed and elected at Army or division accountability-election conferences, in accordance with quotas and in a manner analogous to the aforementioned ones.

We propose that the principle of the simple majority vote be used in electing both members of the party organs and delegates to the congress.

The democratization of the process of proposing and electing delegates to the forthcoming party congress requires us to reduce the number of leading figures from the center proposed for election as congressional delegates.

Some of them, including members of the BCP Central Committee and the Central Control-Auditing Commission, may participate in the congress meetings as guests.

The principles and procedures for conducting party elections that have been proposed are unconventional and unusual, if we assess them from the viewpoint of the notions and fixed rules on which our inner-party life has been based until now. However, it is precisely this inner-party life that we want to change and democratize in a radical manner. The new political realities in the country and the lofty goals that we have set ourselves require, in the opinion of the Politburo, that we decisively democratize election procedures without hesitation.

The issue of cadre renewal is a great and especially important and complex issue that we must resolve at the forthcoming party accountability-election meetings.

The party organizations must be headed by cadres that are really ready to follow the spirit of the new party course, lead the party organizations, and organize and direct their activity toward expressing their vanguard role and strengthening their relations with the working people and all public organizations, movements, and structures.

Relieving ourselves of people who do not enjoy the confidence of the Communists, collectives, and the public, cadres who have compromised themselves, and the exponents of the stagnation and neo-Stalinist style and method of work will have a decisive importance for the party during the accountability-election meetings.

At this tense and dynamic time of profound changes and reassessment of traditions and values, which occasionally is very painful, every Communist, and especially the leading cadres, must be able to quickly rid themselves of their illusions and self-deception and place the interests of the party above their own interests.

At the same time, we must not create an atmosphere of persecution, suspicion, and personal revenge, of tolerance of slander, and of assessing all cadres in our party until now in a totally negative light.

With the exception of those cadres and leaders who have politically and morally compromised themselves, everyone today will have the opportunity to participate personally in constructing and asserting a renewed BCP, and in its struggle for its own restructuring and for the revolutionary restructuring of Bulgarian society.

Considering the arguments that were submitted to the plenum, the Politburo proposes to the BCP Central Committee that the following congressional agenda should be adopted:

1. On the state of society and the tasks of the BCP at the present stage of development.

Speaker: Petur Mladenov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee.

2. Basic provisions on the organization and activities of the BCP (a new BCP Statute).

3. Election of central leading party organs.

The question emerges about what approach should be adopted in preparing for the congress and in compiling the draft documents that are expected to be discussed. We came to the conclusion that the sociopolitical situation and the brief period of time left before the congress do not permit us to prepare the congress according to the traditional methods. We should take into consideration both the intensified politization of society and the tremendous attention that our public is devoting to inner-party events and to the preparations for the congress. We should take into consideration the pluralism of ideas and opinions that has emerged within the party and which is related to the party's own restructuring and to the methods of socialist renewal in our country. In assessing all this, the Politburo proposes that the plenum should agree on the establishment of a central commission for the preparation of the 14th BCP Congress. Along with members and candidate members of the BCP Central Committee, the commission should be composed of Communists who enjoy great prestige within the party and in our society and who would be likely to enrich our evaluations and visions, and to contribute, with their ideas and experience, to the work on the draft documents. We think that, from the moral- political point of view, it would be just and, from the point of view of asserting the party's democracy and pluralism, it would be useful if those Communists who, under the conditions of the authoritarian regime, proved their capacity for independent and critical thinking and their readiness to defend their own opinions despite the pressure exerted upon them were to participate in the work of the commission.

In order to ensure conditions for businesslike work, the number of commission members should not exceed 60-70 people. The commission could create subcommissions to deal with basic questions of the agenda and with the organizational-technical preparations for the congress, on the basis of its own evaluation.

Comrades, such are the arguments on basic questions related to the preparations for the 14th Extraordinary BCP Congress that I have been directed by the Politburo to submit for your attention.

We would like to close by pointing out that certain, positive changes have occurred in our country's sociopolitical atmosphere within the last 2-3 days. Following a period of increasing tension, which threatened to lead the country to sharp confrontation with unpredictable consequence, an agreement in principle was reached between the BCP, the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union, the social organizations, movements and structures to conduct "roundtable discussions" on the basic issues of restructuring Bulgarian society.

We regard this as the success of common sense, as further confirmation of our conviction that conditions and possibilities for finding a way out of the situation of crisis through a civilized dialogue, based on equal rights, with the participation of all social forces, exist in our country. We once more reassert that it is our sincere intention to conduct a "roundtable" dialogue in a honest and well-meaning spirit, without trying to impose ready-made decisions on our partners, and declare that we are prompted by the wish to reach constructive compromises that are understandable by and acceptable to our entire people. We would like to believe that all participants in the talks will adopt the same attitude.

I would like to point out in conclusion that the normal functioning of our national economy is now of particular importance for our country. We evaluated the state of our economy at the previous BCP Central Committee Plenum. The National Assembly is expected to review the government program on urgent socioeconomic measures. Not only the material living conditions of the Bulgarian citizens will depend on the way in which we start the economic year and on the method by which we intend to organize the implementation of the program that the National Assembly is expected to approve, but this manner and this method will also determine the success of the great initiative in which our entire people have engaged—namely the construction of a democratic and humanitarian socialist society in the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

Thank you for your attention.

Christian Party Chief Invites Mladenov to Debate

*AU3012145489 Sofia BTA in English
1352 GMT 30 Dec 89*

[Text] Sofia, December 30 (BTA)—Mr Petur Mladenov, secretary general of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party], has been approached with an unprecedented invitation to a TV debate by Mr Konstantin Adzharov, chairman of the Christian Republican Party (CRP). The invitation is contained in a letter sent to the chairman of the Television and Radio Committee and copied to other mass media.

The Christian Republican Party was established a month ago in the city of Plovdiv. The letter says that the party is "the first independent party in Bulgaria in the postwar period and the only Christian party in the Balkans." It has branches in 24 towns but its membership is not specified. It has formed a youth organisation. The Bulgarian Christian Republicans have written to Dr Helmut Kohl in the FRG and to Mr Arnaldo Forlani in Italy, expressing readiness for cooperation.

The Christian Republican Party stayed out of the Union of Democratic Forces as "contrary to its fundamental party line, it does not raise clearly the matter of political power-sharing." The CRP south Bulgarian wing is one of the founders of a regional independent organisation, the Sixth of September Forum Alliance. The idea is for the forum to grow from a south Bulgarian into a united nationwide opposition, the CRP letter says.

Burning of Ministry Documents Investigated

*AU0401100590 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian
29 Dec 89 p 4*

[Unattributed report: "Documents Destroyed?"]

[Text] Zdravko Atanasov, member of the Ecoglasnost Administrative Council, came to our editorial board yesterday and submitted the following letter:

"Today, on 28 December 1989, at approximately 0800 local time, some documents were burned in the immediate vicinity of the Seventh District of Administration of the Ministry of Internal Affairs in Sofia. When I arrived, I saw some charred pieces of paper with readable text and some fragments that had not been burned with the inscription: 'Top Secret' on them. I think that our people should be informed about files being burned in Bulgaria."

Comrade Atanasov submitted the Xerox copy of one of the rescued documents, which appeared to be written on stationery belonging to the Ministry of Internal Affairs District Administratation in the Students' City. They bore a registration number and were dated 4,5, and 10 December 1989. Six relatively very readable lines are also preserved, but they were not sufficient to identify the contents of the documents.

Trying to clarify the case as soon as possible, we contacted Major General Nikola Malinchev, head of the Sofia City Administration of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, who provided the following explanation:

"The investigation we conducted, after you alerted us, established that a clerk from the Seventh Municipal Administration of the Ministry of Internal Affairs actually burned some documents today. This is a traditional act of destroying unnecessary and perishable letters, bulletins, and other documents that are not subject to filing. As far as I know, this procedure is applied in numerous administrative departments toward the end of a year. I would like to point out in this respect that a large portion of documents belonging to the Ministry of Internal Affairs are still unjustifiably classified as "top secret." It is evident that in that particular case, the established procedure of destroying unncessary documents in the Ministry of Internal Affairs has been violated. I would like to stress that immediately following the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee November Plenum, in accordance with a specific minister's order, I gave instructions for additional measures related to the strict preservation of all official files. Once more, however, I would like to stress that the documents destroyed in the Seventh District of Administration do not apply to this case."

Kremikovtsi Workers Threaten Strike

*AU0401100990 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian
29 Dec 89 p 4*

[Yordan Mitev report: "No-Confidence Vote"]

[Text] Why is the Mechanization and Automobile Transporation Administration that is attached to the Kremikovtsi Company, about to strike?

A driver with a long service record said: "We never had such a meeting before." This happened despite the fact that the management made sure that at least some of the 1,077 workers would not be present at the meeting. The same worker ironically pointed out: "In the past they forced us to attend meetings, now they are trying to prevent us from participating." The drivers protested against the answers given by Director Andon Kundakov to questions asked in advance, and booed him. The speakers at the meeting added new demands to the previous ones—namely, the elimination of gross injustices related to wages and the improvement of labor organization conditions. They asked about the fate of the "Delyan" automobile transport base, and requested that the wages and incomes of the managers should be finally made public, that the administrative personnel and expenditures should be cut down, and that services should be improved.

One of the workers at the rostrum proposed that the management should be deprived of the confidence vote, which was greeted with applause by the entire audience. Despite the fact that according to observers 742 people were present in the hall, Aleksey Lazarov, the leader of the meeting—who was totally unknown to the workers—announced that there was no quorum(?!?)

After this the director spoke about the great responsibility burdening him. Nevertheless, despite the length of their statements, none of the managers mentioned the workers' demand that the managers immediately resign.

Sava Yordanov, the secretary of the company's trade union committee, stressed that if the management would not resign, he would raise the question of its dismissal with the Municipal Trade Union Council in accordance with the instructions of the Labor Code. This should, presumably, be the right attitude for a trade union leader in a similar situation.

'Repressed' BCP Members Fully Rehabilitated

AU0301144690 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 30 Dec 89 p 4

[Boris Gergov report: "BCP (Bulgarian Communist Party) Membership Restored"]

[Excerpt] The Sofia City Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Control Auditing Commission reviewed the party membership status of some BCP members who had been repressed prior to 10 November 1989. The uninterrupted party membership of Comrades Trifon Petkov Goranov and Petur Aleksandrov Shishkov was restored. A copy of this decision shall be submitted to the Parliamentary Commission for the full legal, civil, and social rehabilitation of these two individuals and for their legitimate compensation. It is also recommended to the Central Committee of Fighters against Fascism and Capitalism that it revise the decision that deprived Trifon Goranov of his well-deserved title. [passage omitted]

Burgas Municipal BCP Bureau Resigns

AU0301144990 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 30 Dec 89 p 4

[Text] Burgas, 29 December (by Tsanko Raychev, Oblast correspondent)—Following sharp, critical debates and a thorough analysis of the complicated political situation, and based on numerous constructive proposals, the plenum of the Burgas Municipal Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Committee closed last night.

Dimitur Georgiev, first secretary of the BCP Municipal Committee in Burgas, explained with sound arguments and in a self-critical spirit the proposal on the collective resignation of the Municipal Committee Bureau. The plenum accepted the resignation of the bureau's 12 members. The BCP committees attached to the Burgas townships will be eliminated as of January 1990 at the plenum's decision. Following prolonged debates, a new bureau, composed of seven people, was elected by secret ballot. Andreya Dimitrov was elected first secretary; Anton Donchev and Georgi Minchev were elected secretaries.

Democratic Union's New Year's Message

AU0101185190 Sofia BTA in English 1754 GMT 1 Jan 90

["New Year Message of Union of Democratic Forces"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, January 1 (BTA)—"For Bulgaria, 1990 will be a decisive year during which it must become a genuinely democratic country with free and independent press, with a parliament-controlled radio and television, with a multiparty system, with a depoliticized army and police, with a legitimately elected National Assembly, with a coalition government and a democratic Constitution," says a New Year message of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS), read on National Television today by Dr Zhelyu Zhelev, chairman of the union.

The message points out that the totalitarian system is to be dismantled, now that over a short span of time last year "East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and Romania overthrew the autocratic dictatorial regimes based on totalitarian structures forced on those countries by Stalin's Soviet Union after World War II."

Bulgaria should take its first steps towards building a market economy and a national economy with different forms of ownership. "It will be a great achievement for the fledgling democracy if the changes take place without violence, entirely by democratic means," the SDS message emphasizes. This will depend not that much on the SDS's goodwill as on the support of the Bulgarian citizens. "The more massive and broader this support, the slimmer the chances of the conservative forces resorting to violence," the message says.

The SDS makes a special point of calling on the public in the provinces to support the struggle for democracy, "as democratic renewal cannot be achieved only in the capital and through the capital."

Platform of 'Bulgarian Road to Europe'

AU0101110190

[Editorial Report] Sofia NARODNA MLADEZH in Bulgarian on 27 December on page 4 carries the 3,000-word "Draft Platform of the 'Bulgarian Road to Europe' Movement".

The "Initiative Group," which signed the draft platform, presents the document as a "variant of a new course for the Communist Party." The authors maintain that "the most important issue is how to elect delegates for the forthcoming Extraordinary Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP]." According to them, "either we must break away from Stalinism, or the people will break away from us." They see "the present party platform as a program of a transition, at the end of which, in anything related to politics, economy, and culture, Bulgaria must be on the threshold of integrating Europe."

The authors later demand to "radically change political life in Bulgaria by creating a political democracy of the European type." For this purpose they propose a "multiparty system," "guaranteeing the rights of all minority groups," "total equality before the law," "separation of powers," and "limiting the rights of the state."

In addition, they demand the BCP "to step down from the government whenever the people demand this," and "help the opposition to strengthen and develop as a real political force."

The "Bulgarian Road to Europe" platform also proposes "not to proclaim any ideology as 'official'," a "coalition government on the broadest possible basis," "relinquishing the principle of democratic centralism," "eliminating the party's apparatus," "holding annual party congresses and conferences as normal events of inner-party life," and "reducing the size of the BCP Central Committee to 50-100 members, who will not hold any state position."

22 Dec Rallies, Events Summarized

AU0101084190

[Editorial Report] Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 23 December on page 2 carries a 600-word "Topical Chronicle" report on events throughout the country on 22 December. The following events are reported:

A session of the Razgrad Municipal People's Council relieved Tsvyatko Dragozov, chairman of the Executive Committee Razgrad Municipal People's Council, of his post "because of the public opinion that emerged." The session "elected Ivan Vulchev by a secret vote as chairman of the Executive Committee of the Razgrad Municipal People's Council."

A meeting of the members and corresponding members of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences "relieved Asen Khadzhiolov of his post as deputy chairman of the Academy because of his appointment as minister of people's education. Corresponding Member Ivan Yukhnovski and Academician Angel Angelov were elected deputy chairmen of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences."

"At the request of 620 representatives of citizens' companies and individual producers, a Union for Citizens' Economic Initiative" was established in Sofia.

On 21 December "Memorial" Citizens' Foundation was established in Sofia. It will strive "to unite public opinion in Bulgaria and abroad to construct an people's memorial to all Bulgarian citizens, victims of Stalinism."

A rally under the slogan "'For Uniting Society, Tolerance, and Dialogue'" took place in Burgas. The speakers at the rally "pointed out that the inertia and passivity of certain units of the bureaucratic-administrative system are holding up the democratic transformations and prevent the solution of pressing economic, social, and ecological issues."

Todorov Closing Speech at National Assembly

AU2612201389 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 16 Dec 89 p 3

[Closing speech by Stanko Todorov, Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee member, before the 12th session of the Ninth National Assembly in Sofia on 15 December]

[Text] A session of the Bulgarian Parliament has ended that would have been unthinkable for the time of authoritarian government. It took place under the strong influence of the real processes of renewal that began on 10 November, and the decisions of the December plenum of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee.

The decisive course toward democratization and the explosively growing activity of the Bulgarian citizens prompt us to overcome our old notions and habits from the period of stagnation, and begin to work as the Constitution and the people's interests require of us. It would be incorrect and unethical to say that we have already traveled the entire road. For all of us who entered the Parliament more than 3 years ago, the days and nights now are time for reflection and personal and public reassessment. We are seeking an answer to the fateful question "what is to be done?"

The fact that we discussed in a responsible manner the normative decrees that were issued between the 10th and 12th sessions of the Parliament is a manifestation of sovereignty. Some of the State Council decrees imposed by the legal system of the former leadership were rejected. Today Parliament is the sole legislative organ and it finally and fully assumes this role granted to it by the Constitution.

The personnel changes in the National Assembly, State Council, and Council of Ministers, are also important and conform the spirit of renewal. The people who are most responsible for the crisis in our society lost their deputy seats. The permanent commissions are headed by competent and convinced adherents to the process of renewal. A new permanent commission on parliamentary control related to issues of defense and internal affairs was created.

Changes prompted by events were made in the State Council and its leadership. The renewal of the composition of the Council of Ministers continues. We elected a new chief prosecutor. The personnel changes are a part and prerequisite of changing the course and the behavior of the people in leading positions.

The election of a parliamentary commission, which will review and resolve certain pressing issues related to deformations and violations of the legality of state, social, and economic life, undoubtedly has a great political importance. The comprehensive and just demand of the public also was reflected in this fact.

The real democratization of sociopolitical life powerfully requires us to quickly renew our legislature. The National Assembly unanimously adopted the proposals submitted by the parliamentary groups of the BCP and the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union on repealing paragraphs 2 and 3 of Article 1 of the Constitution, and assessed them as an important step along asserting political pluralism and constructing a democratic and law-governed state. In accordance with paragraph 2 of Article 143 of the Constitution, which requires a minimum period of 1 month for discussing a draft law on its amendment, the National Assembly decided to finally adopt those amendments at its next session, which will take place in January 1990.

The through discussion of the draft laws on amending the Penal Code and amnesty at meetings, rallies, and manifestations of the citizens' associations, was a practical expression of the democratization and tolerance toward which our society is striving. The fact that the adoption of some of them was postponed to the next session, so that the draft laws could first be published for nationwide discussion, reflects the striving to precisely and lastingly regulate the democratic process through legal acts, rather than holding up this process.

As a Parliament that respects the people's sovereignty we adopted a declaration in which we worthily expressed our attitude toward those who have assumed the unseemly mission to disunite the people and produce destabilization at a moment when the entire country is heading along the road of national unity in the name of socialist renewal and constructing a just and law-governed state in our society. We openly declared that, if the anti-constitutional actions continue, their organizers will have to assume complete responsibility, which springs from the existing Bulgarian Constitution and laws.

By adopting certain acts at the present session, we practically began the dialogue with the public, including a dialogue with the various citizens' associations. A commission has been elected that will study the issue of constructing the "Rila" and "Mesta" hydraulic power projects. We discussed a report by the minister of internal affairs on certain issues related to citizens' petitions about violations of their rights. The National Assembly found that illegal actions have been allowed, condemned them, and instructed the minister of internal affairs to find the guilty persons and demand responsibility from them.

With the last two sessions we marked the beginning of a process that will lead us out of stagnation and impotence. The people, who grow by days and hours in anything related to politics, support us in the efforts to lead the country out of the dead end into which we were led in recent years by the former ruler and his loyal collaborators. However, many doubts and reservations still prevail among the people. This is a natural phenomenon. We can disperse them in one way only—if we firmly act as responsible statesmen and decisively contribute to renewing life.

We are facing a tense and really difficult year. Our thoughts are directed first of all toward those Bulgarian citizens who are living under unfavorable material conditions.

It is the supreme obligation of the Parliament to create legal preconditions for real restructuring. For the time being, the plan on the National Assembly's legislative and control activity contains only the most necessary draft laws and control measures. Nevertheless, their preparation will require political will, great efforts, and awareness for our responsibility before the time.

Our cause will be continued by the next, 10th, National Assembly that will be elected in a fully democratic manner, according to a new Law on Elections.

We are living at a really fateful time. The present and future generations will not forgive us if we show passivity and conservatism. Let us cleanse our souls of the remnants of the cult and, guided by civic feelings and responsibility, do everything that we must do as people's representatives in the Ninth National Assembly. Now it is extremely necessary to meet with our voters and acquaint them with the decisions adopted by the National Assembly. Let us discuss together with them the issues that emerge and cooperate in resolving them. From the National Assembly rostrum I wish our voters, and you, dear comrade people's representatives a happy New Year!

I close the 12th session!

Stanishev Statement at 11-13 Dec Plenum

AU2612194789 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 18 Dec 89 pp 3,4

[Statement by Dimitur Stanishev, candidate member of the BCP (Bulgarian Communist Party) Central Committee Politburo and BCP Central Committee secretary, at the 13 December session of the BCP Central Committee Plenum held from 11-13 December at the Boyana Residence in Sofia]

[Text] In my opinion, it would not be exaggerated to compare the present world situation with the era immediately following the October Revolution, or the epoch following World War II. In those days, just like today, the people's masses were very active, new social forces were organizing, a fundamental change took place in numerous countries and areas, and also in the whole system of interstate relations. The same applies to the present state of affairs.

Since 10 November 1989 we are also involved in this stormy and dynamic process. There is even more—we halted the slow, but irresistible progress toward disaster. We are all witnessing the unbelievable social energies that are now erupting among the Bulgarian people. We are, actually, facing three questions: One, what should we do to prevent these energies from turning into a destructive force; two, how to take care that these energies are not wasted on petty problems, or abused for personal vendettas; and three, how to concentrate and focus these energies upon the solution of the basic issues—namely a prompt, irrevocable elimination of deformations and vices and the outdated style and methods of work, the full completion of the de-Stalinization process, and the development of our country as a democratic and law-governed state, both from the economic and political points of view. This is the main task that the people are expecting us to accomplish. If we do not complete it, the people will do so without our help, because other forces, which are already emerging on the political scene under different names, will appear.

For this reason, it is now the party's decisive responsibility to get hold of and control these processes.

This plenum is called upon to play a special role. Its essential task is to develop basic trends and a practical program for the party's work under totally new conditions within the period preceeding the forthcoming BCP Congress.

What is the main issue today? Taking into consideration the short, one-month experience we have acquired since the November Plenum and the experience of other socialist countries, the main task is to engage in a stormy and accelerated upsurge aimed at intensifying all activities and at the politization of all our society.

We should be clearly aware of the fact that the situation is changing from day to day, and sometimes, even by the hour. The conclusion can be only one—namely, that we should not waste time, that the party should foresee and be ahead of events, so that it may guide the masses, instead of being driven by uncontrolled elements.

This requires that the Communists should resolutely give up the outdated practice of the past, when everyone was waiting and continued to wait for instructions from the top. We should frankly admit that, as a result of the distorted concept of the party's role and place in society, its quality as a political force was considerably affected. This is confirmed by the Communists' recent behavior, and by the emergence of various new political organizations. Some Communists are frightened and shocked by the accerated development of the democratization processes, they exaggerate the dangers, as a result of which, they actually obstruct the further expansion of renewal and prevent us from accomplishing the decisive steps. Others, in turn, underestimate the extremism that in the present transitional period, by launching extremist, demagogic slogans, could easily find fertile soil for thriving, thus causing irreparable damage to the democratization process. This is also a real danger.

What should the party do to intensify its work and respond to the people's expectations? This was clearly indicated in Comrade Mladenov's report.

Under the existing circumstances, we should not underestimate the newly established citizens' movements and organizations, their place in social life and our work on relations with them. We should, above all, examine the platform and activities of each of these organizations in order to make a correct evaluation, and adopt a specific, differentiated approach to each of them. If their goals should be in contradiction with the construction of a democratic socialist society, we should cooperate with them and accept them as constructive partners, opponents, and allies. We should resolutely distance ourselves from those who have adopted extremist and antisocialist methods and goals, and try to isolate them by political means, but if their actions should be illegal—the state is expected to take legal action against them.

In this connection I propose that the party committees should consider their relations with such organizations as an exceptionally important part of their political work and get involved in a dialogue with them and by applying all relevant democratic forms in this respect.

The most important task today is to develop a new party policy for the people's consolidation, a policy likely to solve the question of guaranteeing the construction of a real democratic, civic social system in our country and of safeguarding personal freedom. The report submitted by the Politburo pointed out that this problem is difficult and complicated, and that it requires a fundamental analysis. Nevertheless, we cannot wait too long, because the problem really exists and concerns all our population. After having scheduled the elections, we should be clearly aware of our stands, because other forces may take advantage of this. The most regrettable thing was that the natural process of our people's integration was forcibly interrupted.

Nevertheless, a new political atmosphere was established in our country as a result of 10 November. A consistent policy is currently promoted aimed at rallying all people and for guaranteeing a broad unity of action of all forces in implementing socialist democracy on the basis of common values, such as territorial integrity, independence, sovereignty, and Bulgaria's prosperity. All citizens of our country, regardless of their social, ethnic, and religious affiliation, have the opportunity of playing a role in these unanimous actions.

The basic principle of our state is that all Bulgarian citizens have equal rights, obligations, and responsibilities toward our motherland.

No one is entitled to violate this principle. Those who violate it are personally responsible.

Without rallying the Bulgarian people on this basis we would be incapable of implementing the drastic change that our society so badly needs along the path of democracy. I mean Bulgaria's transformation into a civilized, law-governed state.

I think that it is our duty to declare at this plenum that our policy of consolidating all Bulgarian citizens is an indivisible part of the overall democratization and restructuring process.

The strict observance of human rights and freedoms in accordance with the international agreements and documents that Bulgaria has signed, and the clear, categorical, and unmistakable confirmation of all Bulgarian citizens being equal before the law are the basic principles of this policy.

This new policy will be strong, convincing, and long-lasting, if we are willing to cooperate on it in a democratic manner with the participation of all those involved.

I propose to establish a special commission in charge of preparing the party policy for the people's consolidation and submit proposals on this subject to a forthcoming BCP Central Committee plenum.

I would like to dwell briefly on the recent political changes in numerous European socialist countries.

The political situation in those countries has radically changed. The processes are not only intensifying, but they have acquired different dimensions and orientations. The former concepts on socieconomic life are being revised. Real pluralism has been asserted.

We can see with our own eyes how difficult and even painful it is to create a new image of true socialism in which man and his needs should be the focus of all things, and all activities in the economic and political sectors, and the government institutions should be subjected to these needs.

Restructuring in the socialist countries, despite existing differences, is implemented on a similar platform, and in similar directions. It is true that not everything is proceeding smoothly and peacefully in those countries. We should frankly admit our concern about some of these complicated and contradictory processes because they represent a danger, not only for the very existence of socialism, but also for European military and economic security as a whole.

Practical experience shows that various methods of overcoming the crisis exist. The fact that on 10 November our party anticipated the events and seized the opportunity of taking the initiative confirms its wisdom and maturity. We shouldn't miss this historic chance.

We, Bulgarians, but also the fraternal socialist countries, the entire communist movement, and all progressive and peace-loving people are interested in the success of restructuring in our country. This fact should by no means be forgotten.

Commission Makes Proposals on Associations Law

AU2512181589 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 16 Dec 89 p 2

[Proposal issued by the Legislative Commission and the Commission on the Defense of Social Interests and Citizens' Rights on the draft law on public associations of the citizens—date not given]

[Text] 1. To replace the words "the associations's leadership" in Article 4 by "and its leading organs." The amendment has an editorial character.

2. To amend Article 5 in the following manner:

"Article 5. (1) The municipal people's council at the place of founding the association, must be notified in writing about the founding of the citizens' association. The date of the notification is to be considered as the date of establishment.

(2) The notification sent to the municipal people's council by the association's leading organ must contain the decision to found the association, the charter, and the list of the members of its leading organs."

Reasons: Registration, rather than permission is necessary for the establishment of a public association. This ensures a more democratic application of the right to form associations.

3. To amend Article 6 in the following manner:

"Article 6. It is forbidden to found public associations of the citizens aimed toward violating the public and state system, established by the Constitution, or the territorial integrity of the country, or when the association's goals contradict the law and moral."

Reasons: Citizens cannot form associations with the view to achieving illegal or amoral goals.

4. To cancel Article 7, and make Article 8 and 9, respectively, Articles 7 and 8.

Reasons: The amended contents of Article 6 render Article 7 unnecessary.

5. To change the contents of Paragraph 1 of the Additional and Conclusive Regulations in the following manner:

"1. This law does not apply to political parties, trade union organizations, religious communities, and associations in the military units and the units of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, as well as to the sphere of military and combat sports."

Reasons: The specific character of the military and combat sports impose to exclude the public associations related to practicing those kinds of sports from this law, so that they would not turn into a threat of the public law and the calm of the other citizens.

In Addition the Commissions Propose the Following:

To add the following to the Penal Code:

1. To create a new section 1-a called "Crimes Against the Freedom of Meetings, Rallies, and Demonstrations" in Chapter 3—"Crimes Against the Citizens' Rights."

2. To create a new Article 163-a with the following contents:

"Article 163-a. Obstructing or disturbing the conduct of a meeting, rally, or manifestation of citizens, stipulated and allowed by the Law on Meetings, Rallies, and Demonstrations, by violence, fraud, threat, or other illegal means, is punishable by 2 years of prison."

Reasons: The violation of the order established by the Law on Meetings, Rallies, and Demonstrations is punishable by an administrative fine. However, in order to guarantee the normal conduct of those events it is necessary to define as crimes those acts that seriously violate the right to hold meetings, rallies, and demonstrations, and create disorder.

Writers Form Association of Satirists

AU2512190989 Sofia LITERATUREN FRONT in Bulgarian 14 Dec 89 p 2

[Text] On 30 November in Sofia, a meeting of several dozen writers took place. It was chaired by Radoy Ralin. At the meeting, an Association of Satirists [druzhestvo nasatiritsi] was founded, whose goal it is to popularize our satirical literature in our country and abroad, and defend the specific creative and professional interests of the members. A charter was adopted. The association is open to new members. It will publish a magazine.

A meeting took place on 7 December. It was chaired by Petur Neznakomov. A association council was elected for a term of office of 1 year. The following figures are members of the council: Aleksandur Milanov, Bancho Banov, Valeri Petrov, Georgi Drumev, Damyan Begunov, Dimitur Petrov (secretary), Ivan Radoev, Yordan Radichkov, and Khristo Radevski. The entire activity of the association and its leading organs will be based on the nonprofit principle. A control-auditing commission was elected. The following figure are members of the commission: Vasil Stanilov (chairman), Zdravko Popov, and Mikhail Veshim.

After a heated debate the meeting adopted an appeal, which lists the claims of many of the satirists, related to issues of restructuring and the country's public life.

New Journalist Organizations Established

AU2512190789 Sofia POGLED in Bulgarian No. 51, 18 Dec 89 p 9

[Unattributed report: "New Meetings, Association, Clubs...."]

[Excerpts] A new club, "Journalist Initiative" [Zhurnalisticheska Initsiativa], has been founded. It will seek alternative means of democratizing the Union of Bulgarian Journalists and turning it into a full- fledged organization of defending the rights and regulating the duties of the journalists. [passage omitted]

The Free Journalist Association [Svobodno Zhurnalistichesko Druzhestvo] is the third group founded in Sofia after the November plenum. It was preceded by the Independent Journalist Union (within the framework of the "Podkrepa" Trade Union) and the "Journalist Initiative" Club. Its constituent meeting was held on 10 December at the Sofia University, which was attended by anyone who wanted to participate. A 3-hour discussion took place. [passage omitted]

Leader of Journalists Union Resigns

AU2512092989 Sofia POGLED in Bulgarian No. 51, 18 Dec 89 p 9

[Unattributed report: "Duty and Responsibility of Journalists Under New Political Conditions]

[Excerpts] Convened on 10 December, in order to work out a position on the eve of the plenum of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee, the meeting of the Administrative Board of the Union of Bulgarian Journalists turned into the scene of a heated and free discussion of the journalists' duties and role under the new political conditions. [passage omitted]

The chief secretary, Lyuben Genov, read the decision of the Administrative Board to convene an extraordinary congress of the Union of Bulgaria Journalists, with the following agenda:

1. Report on the situation of the Union of Bulgarian Journalists and the tasks it faces;
2. Adopting a new charter;
3. Electing a new leadership.

Lalyu Dimitrov proposed his resignation as chairman of the Union of Bulgarian Journalists. [passage omitted]

A lively discussion developed around the resignation. It was accepted after an open vote. Some 35 votes were cast for the resignation and 31 against. [passage omitted]

Thus, an extraordinary congress of the Union of Bulgarian Journalists will take place at the beginning of 1990, this time without the sinister shadow of Milko Balev. Let us prepare for it.

BCP's Lukanov, Lilov Discuss Economic Policy

AU2512081489 Sofia POGLED in Bulgarian No. 51, 18 Dec 89 pp 8, 9

[Interview with Andrey Lukanov, member of the BCP (Bulgarian Communist Party) Central Committee Politburo and Central Committee secretary, and Aleksandur Lilov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and Central Committee secretary, by POGLED reporter Ivan Ganev —in Sofia on 13 December]

[Text] [Ganev] How long—approximately or probably—will the implementation of the short-range economic policy on increasing the standard of living continue?

Andrey Lukanov: It is difficult to establish a firm term of the stabilization program, because different measures require different amounts of time. We can relatively quickly stop the construction of difficult and expensive projects not needed by our economy. This can happen within several weeks. On the other hand, measures such as the recovery of the soil, restoring its real potential, and restoring man's relation to the soil, cannot be implemented in 1 or 2 months. We hope that by next year, we shall achieve real progress through bold measures related to economic life in the villages, the forms of ownership, and assistance to agriculture. Thus, it is imperative that next year we implement a turning point in the economic situation. However, we will need a little bit more than 1 year in order to establish whether the goals of the stabilization program have been achieved.

[Ganev] Will there be fundamental changes in our foreign economic relations, and what will they be?

Andrey Lukanov: There probably will be changes in the structure and geographic directions. They will be related to the global processes of world politics and economy, and especially the processes that are taking place in Europe, the real movement toward the common European home, and the intensification of economic relations and cooperation between East and West that is emerging.

In addition, I would like to point out that we shall further rely on our cooperation with the USSR and the other CEMA members. Of course, this will take place upon new principles, because we all are convinced that the current administrative system of cooperation is neither efficient nor lasting.

[Ganev] What are your impressions of the Bulgarian mass media and the changes that have taken place in them?

Aleksandur Lilov: During the brief period since I returned to Bulgaria, I see that they have changed so much that it is impossible to recognize them. I have many memories of that mass media of times past, and they are not very pleasant. However, Bulgarian journalism showed that it has the capacity to create powerful mass media. I hope they become not only a tribune of glasnost, but also of restructuring in Bulgaria—and I mean a really powerful factor in this area.

'Victims' of Zhivkov's Rule Ridiculed

AU2412201289

[Editorial Report] Sofia POGLED in Bulgarian No. 51, on 18 December, on page 11 carries a 2,000-word article by Stefan Vlakhov-Mitsov, entitled "The New 'Victims.'" The article deals with "a typical Bulgarian phenomenon—the number of 'victims' of Todor Zhivkov's ostensibly one-man dictatorship grows significantly, and especially among the members of the higher echelon."

The author ridicules Pencho Kubadinski, saying that "all people understood that the situation of Pencho Kubadinski, chairman of the Fatherland Front National Council, (only a few people still remember for how many years he was a member of the Politburo), during all those years was even more difficult than his situation when he was a partisan."

The author suggests to establish a "Club of Repressed Politburo and Central Committee Members." He mentions the names of writers Mladen Isaev, Angel Todorov, and Andrey Gulyashki, saying that they always were the first "to praise and brand," whenever necessary, and quotes passages of their writings. Stefan Vlakhov-Mitsev deplores the practice of those and other writers who "have the audacity to claim political credit for decades of sins." He condemns the practice of holding several public positions, and says that "centralism, paradoxically preceded by the adjective 'democratic,' still reigns in all spheres of life—economy, politics, and intellectual life."

Agrarian Party's Relations With Greens Noted

AU2112092989 Sofia ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME in Bulgarian 19 Dec 89 p 1

[Editorial: "The Bulgarian National Agrarian Union and the 'Greens'" under the rubric "To Our Readers"]

[Excerpts] In the piles of letters that every day fill the tables in front of the editorial workers, there are letters of different kinds, as you all know. The subject of this article is one particular group of these letters. These are letters sent by a considerable number of our readers who ask us what we are doing with the "Greens" (the ecological organizations, clubs, and movements), and why we are not inviting them to contribute to the pages of the newspaper, since they are the closest to us. Others ask whether we are not losing a potential ally, and also ask many similar questions. [passage omitted]

I think that the "Greens" are people who really are close, indeed very close, to our ideas about the earth, water, and air, and about chemicals and everything that makes the "Greens" organize and mobilize themselves for the struggle. [passage omitted]

This is all very well, but where do we go from here? We now come to the question of whether we can campaign together with them on the "green" front. Yes, we can. Sometimes ability should be renamed necessity. This is a necessity because in alliance with the "Greens" we can achieve more, perceptibly more in the struggle for a green countryside, for the healthy, beautiful greenery that we all desire, putting it in the most general terms.

However, there is also a further point that one must be aware of. This is that the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BZNS] does not have before it solely the task of defending a healthy green countryside. The BZNS is a political organization, and has other issues to raise and defend. [passage omitted]

Accordingly, in conclusion one may say that we welcome the "Greens" with open arms for the common struggle, on a common front, But what about the other fronts, outside the "green" one? The "Greens," not we ourselves, have to take thought about this. Our problems and tasks are much larger in number, far more comprehensive that the goal of the "Greens." If they want us to conduct a campaign together for a healthy green countryside, well and good, we agree. As for the rest, we can reach agreement on every specific case, we can give one another a hand, and help each other in this struggle. This will be the good, honorable, and fair thing to do, and will produce better results. [passage omitted]

Statement of Orthodox Holy Synod Released

AU2112143689

[Editorial Report] Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 19 December on page 8 publishes a 1,000-word "statement of the Holy Synod of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church, signed by all the members of the synod."

The statement first expresses thanks for the opportunity to deliver Christmas and New Year greetings on Bulgarian Television. It then points out that the Bulgarian Orthodox Church for more than 11 centuries has been intimately linked with the people's history and development, supporting the national liberation movements and providing valuable educational facilities.

The statement continues: "Our church has lived and will live with the successes and difficulties of our motherland. For this reason the church welcomes with full approval the nationwide striving to implement the process of reorganizing and renewing the fatherland and to create a highly civilized, democratic, and law-governed state." An assurance is given that the church will do its best to assist "in attaining well-intentioned national unity, and in elevating the nation spiritually, culturally, materially, and socially...."

The statement looks forward to the adoption of the new constitution and the law on religious faiths, and later declares: "The Holy Synod assesses as worthy certain of the appeals made by the free democratic unions. It also has its own claims, which, we are convinced, will be met in our democratic law-governed state." It continues: "We are grateful for the opportunity granted to us to publish the Holy Bible and for the start made on printing the New Testament and the Psalms..., for the opportunity to publish in future years sufficient numbers of copies of liturgical and spiritual literature, and for the other church perquisites that the church enjoys and that put joy in the hearts of our Orthodox Christians."

BCP CC Greets Zimbabwe Party Congress

AU2112142289 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 19 Dec 89 p 8

[Telegram from the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party to the unification congress of the Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front Party (ZANU-PF) in Zimbabwe—date not given]

[Text] We Bulgarian Communists give a high assessment to the historic role of the leaders and members of your united party in the struggle to win Zimbabwe's national independence. We have sincere respect and sympathy for the achievements of the Zimbabwean people in building a new society, and support the Republic of Zimbabwe's foreign policy, aimed at strengthening world peace and international cooperation, reaching a settlement of the situation in the south of Africa, and eliminating apartheid and racial discrimination.

The Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] and the People's Republic of Bulgaria are already making real steps along the road of renewal, democracy, and humanitarianism.

In renewing our party and country, we are not deviating from the principles of internationalism and solidarity. We remain true to the traditions, bequeathed to us by Dimitur Blagoev and Georgi Dimitrov, of fraternal cooperation and interaction with all our friends and comrades in ideas and in our struggle.

In continuation of these traditions and in confirmation of our most treasured virtues, the renewed BCP sees even better prospects for cooperation with your own party, which has also renewed itself. We would like to believe that by our joint efforts we will succeed in raising Bulgarian-Zimbabwean relations to a new level, filling them with new content for the well-being of the Bulgarian and Zimbabwean peoples and for world peace and social progress, the telegram states in conclusion.

Strike at Ruse Electronic Plant Noted

AU2512185989

[Editorial Report] Sofia NARODNA MLADEZH in Bulgarian on 7 December on pages 1 and 2 carries a 1,200-word report by Galina Antonova, "oblast correspondent," entitled "Strike." The report deals with the 23 November strike at the Ruse Systems and Electronic Equipment Enterprise. Antonova describes the refusal of the plant managers to speak with the workers or the journalists. Her report is based on a conversation she had with several workers. The reason for the strike, as explained by the workers, was the "disproportion between the wages of the workers and engineers on the one hand, and the managers on the other." The workers proposed "to publish the wages of the managers, the engineers, and the workers." Plamen Buyukliyski, "chairman of the trade union organization," is reported as saying that "it hurts, but they conceal this information even from me." Antonova pointed out that the managers also refused to give her any information about the wages. She deplores the refusal of the enterprise's managers to enter a dialogue with the workers and points out in conclusion that "money is not the only reason for the strike."

Information Agency on Havel's FRG, GDR Visit

LD0301231190 Prague CTK in English 2202 GMT 3 Jan 90

[Text] Prague, Jan 3 (CTK)—The GDR would like to participate in a commission of historians and lawyers which would deal with the problems of Sudeten Germans from 1930's till their deportation after the fall of German fascism, Petr Uhl has told CTK in a commentary on yesterday's visit of Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel to both German republics published by the East European Information Agency, based in Prague, today.

The establishment of this commission was suggested by Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier during his meetings with his Austrian and West German counterparts Alois Mock and Hans-Dietrich Genscher, the agency wrote.

Jiri Dienstbier called especially for the strengthening of the so-called popular diplomacy corresponding with the Helsinki process. This popular diplomacy should be pursued without manipulation from the side of state bodies.

Representatives of the Civic Forum, the Public Against Violence and Charter 77, accompanying the president on his visit to the GDR and FRG invited the GDR friends to visits to Prague and Bratislava due to take place on February 9-11, 1990.

Petr Uhl, who took part in the talks, praised the role of the Green Party which has provided the greatest assistance to the Charter 77 of all the German political parties. x x x

Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier said in an interview for ETA during the visit that more concrete ideas about the work of the international commission on the Sudeten problem do not exist for the time being. The commission will be three-sided, maybe four-sided. The specialists will strive to obtain maximum number of facts, to analyse them and put forward recommendations to the public and governments. "I do not think that the return to the borders of 1937 would be justified in any way. I am also of the opinion that any compensation for the transfer of the German population or for the way it was carried out cannot be considered", Jiri Dienstbier said.

Civic Forum Statement on German Repatriation

LD0301215290 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2030 GMT 3 Jan 90

[Text] The coordination center of Civic Forum in Prague issued a statement today on postwar repatriation of Germans from Czechoslovakia. It says, among other things, that the demand of some Germans for an apology by the Czechoslovak Government for this act is not appropriate. One must view this issue in a broader international and historical perspective, also because the repatriation took place on the basis of a decision by the victorious states of the Second World War. The standpoint further condemns the violence and injustices which accompanied the repatriation of Germans. However, it says that, on the other hand, many of our citizens still bear the consequences of the brutal Nazi rule.

The coordination center of Civic Forum in Prague goes on to stress in its statement that the arrangement of postwar frontiers is considered, in the spirit of the statement of our president, as definitive. At the same time, it considers it unacceptable to return property to the repatriated citizens of German nationality. Apology by the Czechoslovak Government for repatriation of Germans is no solution. The only solution is a constant dialogue of our peoples within the framework of mutual European coexistence, the statement notes.

Public Discusses Apology to Sudeten Germans

LD0401130190 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1130 GMT 4 Jan 90

[Text] The general public has recently been discussing the issue of the apology for the evacuation of Sudeten Germans from our border area after World War II. The population of the territories near our western border has also been offended by the behaviour of some tourists from the FRG.

The organization of the Anti-Fascist Fighters Unions in Plzen has been asking: Who will apologize to 360,000 dead and 10,000 prisoners in concentration camps, and to their suffering families? Who will apologize to our people who were being murdered in 1938 and turned out of their homes in the border area?

Dr Frantisek Pilman from Plzen says that nobody will apologize to murderers and criminals. We, however, cannot agree with collective guilt either.

It is not us but the Germans who should apologize for so much human and national suffering that they caused us, Dr Pavel Maly says in an open letter to President Vaclav Havel. He also says that every individual German who lived in the Czech lands was also personally responsible for his alliance with the interest of the Great German Reich.

Dienstbier on 'Sudenten Problem'

LD0401112490 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0500 GMT 4 Jun 90

[Text] During his visit to the FRG and the GDR, Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier gave an interview to the East European Information Agency, based in Prague. Among other things, he answered a question about the work of an international commission which is to deal with the Sudeten problem. Jiri Dienstbier said that more specific plans have so far not been prepared—there are only proposals. Lawyers and historians will naturally not issue any definite details, but will strive to find the utmost amount of factual material, analyze it, and put forward their suggestions to the public and the government.

Jiri Diensbier described as superfluous certain concerns expressed about revanchism existing in the Czechoslovak border area.

Repercussions of Presidential Amnesty Reported

Report on Prisoners' Actions

LD0301203990 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 3 Jan 90

[Text] Following the presidential new year amnesty, it is naturally very busy in the institutes of corrective training and prisons. The senates are reviewing hundreds of papers from morning until night, the releases continue, but, as could be expected, some of those freed are yet again getting into conflict with the law. For example in Hradec Kralove, a mere 2 hours after release, a juvenile repeated a crime—he yet again stole a car and had an accident with it. In Cernosice and Labem, a released prisoner bothered a 13 year old girl who was walking a dog in the evening, but a passing car forced him to flee. Despite this, he was caught and his name showed that he had served time in Valdice. Another released person, this time strengthened by alcohol, molested passengers in a fast train near Havlickuv Brod, and later attacked a member of the Railways Armed Protection Corps. This morning, 80 prisoners released from corrective training institutes committed a mass disturbance which caused damage to equipment, particularly the railway waiting room.

On the other hand, according to a representative of a chief of a corrective training corps detachment at Brno Bohunice, Vladimir Pricl, none of those released has so far committed a crime for which he would be imprisoned again. No disturbances were recorded while releasing prisoners from the corrective training institute at Kurim near Brno. In various places, from the first moments following the amnesty, help is being granted to all those who need it by National Committees.

Car Plan Fulfillment in Jeopardy

LD0301220890 Prague CTK in English 2145 GMT 3 Jan 90

[Text] Prague, Jan 3 (CTK)—The Skoda car factory is to produce 190,000 "Favorit" cars this year but fulfilment of the plan will be jeopardized to a great extent due to the lack of workers, press spokesman for the Skoda factory in Mlada Bolesav, Central Bohemia, Frantisek Brodsky told CTK today.

The amnesty of the new Czechoslovak president concerns about 1,550 out of 1,610 convicts who have worked in the Skoda car factory in Mlada Boleslav so far. The convicts are now leaving the prison, the press spokesman pointed out.

He spoke about various possibilities how to find new workers. Inmates from other prisons in the district want to work in Mlada Boleslav. Workers from foreign countries, mainly from Vietnam and Poland, are also taken into consideration. The Army could be permanently engaged in the production. A substitute military service is another possibility, Frantisek Brodsky said.

He concluded that in the beginning it would mean to reduce production by one third and that ways are being sought how to settle this unfavourable situation.

CSR Minister on Situation in Czech Jails

AU0301133290 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 29 Dec 89 p 2

[Report by CTK and RUDE PRAVO reporters "fm" and "vd": "Crisis Not Over Yet"]

[Excerpts] Prague—The development of events in the corrective education institutes is being followed with interest. We are bringing further information, as well as opinions and demands.

At the meetings of the Czech National Council [CNR] on 28 December, Dagmar Buresova, minister of justice of the CSR [Czech Socialist Republic], provided information about the situation in the CSR. She stressed that the repressions by the courts in the past years have led to overcrowded jails and that the conditions in the jails do not contribute to the reeducation of culprits; on the contrary, their feeling of being wronged and ignored is being confirmed and family ties are severed.

She said that during the Christmas holidays talks were held with convicts in 19 corrective facilities. There are two types of demands by the convicts. They demand better working and social conditions, better food, hygiene, and such things. The second group of demands is of a fundamental character and will have to be resolved in the new law on serving prison terms. During the talks the atmosphere was calm, the demands sensible and serious. The minister also spoke about the activity of the investigation commission, the members of which are deputies of the CNR and representatives of the CSR Ministry of Justice, the Committee for the Defense of the Unjustly Persecuted, the legal profession, the Civic Forum, and students.

When she spoke about the situation in jails at the moment, she noted that the crisis is still not over. Letters from convicts in the corrective education institutes are still arriving: Some are even in the form of an ultimatum. Some convicts threaten to carry out self-mutilation. At the same, letters are also arriving from members of the Corrective Education Corps—unfortunately they also have ultimatum-like demands. In this connection D. Buresova noted the need to ensure the protection of members of the Corrective Education Corps. [passage omitted]

Bratislava—[Passage omitted] We have been informed that the situation in the Slovak jails is calming down, but it still remains complex in Leopoldov, Ilava, and Banska Bystrica-Kralove. Some of the convicts are refusing to report for work and to eat the institutes' food despite, the fact that a number of the convicts' demands concerning the social sphere have already been fulfilled.

National Security Officer Dead; Suicide Suspected

LD0301182790 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 3 Jan 90

[Text] I have just received the following news from the editorial office:

Col Jiri Becvar was found in his Prague office this morning with a firearm injury to his head. The investigations carried out so far found that he committed suicide.

He was a member of the National Security Corps against whom criminal proceedings in connection with the events of the 17 November 1989 were under way. In the course of the investigations of the case, no event took place that could have influenced his action. The case was opened by a Commission of the Federal Ministry of the Interior and it was taken over by the Higher Military Prosecutor's Office at Pribram.

Death of Catholic Priest To Be Investigated

AU0401095590 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 30 Dec 89 p 2

[CTK report in the "From the Black Chronicle" column]

[Text] The dean of the Roman Catholic Church of Naceradec in Benesov District was found unconscious in his presbytery on Wednesday, 20 December. He died after being taken to a hospital. Swelling of the brain and a subsequent inflammation of the lungs have been given as the cause of death. Numerous injuries have been found on the face and on the neck of the deceased. The Public Security Corps of the Capital of Prague and of Central Bohemia, have, therefore, initiated criminal homicide proceedings.

Stepan Role in 17 Nov Events Confirmed

LD0301211490 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2030 GMT 3 Jan 90

[Text] Pavel Sitar, the new Czechoslovak prosecutor general, was a guest at the talks of the Parliamentary Commission for supervision over the investigation of events on 17 November. He acquainted those present with change in character of the prosecutor general's role. Karel Urbanek, former chairman of the committee for Party Work in the Czech Socialist Republic, also talked to the commission for almost 90 minutes. Asked by journalists whether he feels personal responsibility for the events of 17 November, he said that he does not, and that he did not take part in any talks where the events were discussed with the exception of one—that is on 12 November—where the participants were briefed on the preparation of a student rally, on the route of the youth parade, and so on.

The parliamentary commission was also addressed by Major General Bohumil Carda, the former head of the national Security Administration of Prague and the Central Bohemian region. Member of the Commission deputy Jiri Ladr then characterized these talks in saying that Gen Carda confirmed and stressed some points which the commission had already been aware of. Jiri Ladr went on to express the conviction that the blame of Miroslav Stepan was confirmed. Not only that he interfered on 17 November, but his interference was permanent as of 28 October 1988.

The parliamentary commission invited also Major General Bohumil Carda, former commander of the Prague and Central Bohemia Police Corps Administration, who said that already in October 1988 Miroslav Stepan came to the police headquarters and ordered as chairman of the Defense Council of the capital of Prague the use of tear gas grenades and water canons.

Miroslav Stepan has decided about various actions and took over responsibility for them especially after October 28, 1988. He stressed that he as chairman of the Prague Defense Council will explain it to Jakes somehow, Carda told journalists.

Answering the question if police members were prepared to use fire arms, Carda said: "I don't think so. There has never been an order to use them. The possibility has never been considered. Neither Stepan or myself has given such instruction".

Commission Questions Urbanek

LD0301193490 Prague CTK in English 1830 GMT 3 Jan 90

[Text] Prague, Jan 3 (CTK)—Former Chairman of the Committee for Party Work in the Czech Socialist Republic Karel Urbanek answered today questions of the joint commission of the both houses of the Federal Assembly, the Czech National Council of Students and the Civic Forum supervising the investigation of the events of November 17, 1989 in Prague.

He told journalists after the discussions that he did not know about the planned security action "Student", adding that he does not feel any personal responsibility for the events of November 17. "We have been only informed about the preparations for a student demonstration, its route etc", he said.

Answering the question if Jakes's personal consultation with the former minister of the interior has decided about the realization of the police action on November 17, he said that it was usual system, "not only on the level of the general secretary but also on the level of districts significant questions have been consulted—somebody wanted to cover himself. It was an incorrect system", Karel Urbanek stressed, adding that all leading functionaries should carry responsibility for their functions because they are paid for it.

Karel Urbanek announced that the next session of the Communist Party Central Committee will have to work out the tasks from the extraordinary congress and organizational tasks connected with the reduction of the apparatus.

Foreign Minister on Rehabilitation of Employees

LD1512220389 Prague CTK in English
1824 GMT 15 Dec 89

[Text] Prague, Dec 15 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier said today that he considers former employees of the foreign service who were somehow persecuted for their political stands in connection with 1968 fully politically rehabilitated.

Those of them who were dismissed from the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry can again apply for a job in the Czechoslovak foreign service in case of their interest and according to their qualification, Jiri Dienstbier said.

He referred to the recent statement of the Czechoslovak Government, the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly as well as of representatives of the five Warsaw Treaty states who described the invasion of Czechoslovakia in August 1968 as an act of unlawful interference into the internal affairs of the sovereign Czechoslovak state. Also started was the revision of the events which followed August 21. 1968, Jiri Dienstbier added.

New Economic Measures Take Effect 1 Jan

LD0612181389 Prague CTK in English
1615 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] Prague, Dec 6 (CTK)—The Government Committee for Issues of Planned Management of National Economy discussed at its session here yesterday the present state of preparations and further procedure in restructuring the economic mechanism, head of the Czechoslovak Government Presidium Office's Press Department Marcel Jansen said.

Responding to numerous letters and questions submitted to central bodies concerning the application of rules of the new economic mechanism as from January 1, 1990, he said that the rules of new economic mechanism which have already been approved or are ready will be in force in enterprises and organizations starting from January 1, 1990, despite the fact that they are marked by a number of compromises and that they do not fully express the needs for a quick transition to the market economy.

At present shortcomings are being sought in the adopted rules and administrative obstacles impeding the independence of Czechoslovak economic organizations with the aim to remove them as soon as possible, the official said. [sentence as received]

He went on to say that the government committee at its session also said that it is necessary to create immediately a strong team of Czechoslovak national economists of all orientations to analyze the course of the economists of all orientations to analyze the course of the economic reform up to now and to work out a general concept as well as further concrete steps in the implementation of the reform.

Komarek Interviewed on Economic Reform

LD1312114189 Prague Domestic Service
in Czech 1730 GMT 12 Dec 89

[Text] There are only 19 days until the new year, when the prepared economic reform should become valid. However, economists have been calling even more for a radical amendment of the prepared reforms or for halting them altogether.

Stanislav Kuzel asked Valtr Komarek, first deputy premier of federal government, his opinion:

[Begin recording] [Kuzel] Do you think it is necessary to halt the prepared reform or to let it go ahead, but in a radically changed form?

[Komarek] I think it is necessary to understand clearly that the economic reform has not been prepared. We need an economic reform that will mean the building of an up-to-date, modern market economy. Here, a sort of a sum of compromises has been created between existing ministries, which would like to see the continuation of a bureaucratic way of management, and the people, who want reform. This is a compromise which, I say again, lacks competition, which has a monopoly, which lacks liberalization of foreign trade; it is not a reform. The aim of a reform is to lead the economy to prosperity on the basis of competition and the ability to stand up to foreign competition, to openness of the economy, and an increase of offerings. A reform must serve consumers, must be reflected in the richness of the market's offerings and in enormously increased economic efficiency. This still lies ahead of us. This is a process we will be implementing for a number of years, and one cannot think naively that this can be solved by introducing some kind of provisions by 1 January.

[Kuzel] Do you think then that we will start the new year with something quite different?

[Komarek] By the new year...[changes thought] I would not be guided by a calendar in this way. I do not think it is not essential whether something starts in March or January, but the main thing is that it followed a concept that it was [word indistinct] economic program, and such a program still has to be defined only on the level of government because so far, in my view, the government did not have it. [end recording]

Finance Minister on New Economic Measures

LD1412221189 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 2030 GMT 14 Dec 89

[Text] Federal Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus noted at today's news conference in Prague that the new economic policy will be based on a change of economic mechanisms. With regard to our traditions it is not overall privatization of the economy that is at issue but the creation of an equal position for various forms of ownership. Vaclav Klaus noted that our participation in the International Monetary Fund and in the World Bank is a question for the near future. He also said that foreign investors are very interested in Czechoslovakia, but that there should be no so-called Polish variant—a sell-off of national property.

Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus also pointed at the news conference to the unavoidability of devaluing the Czechoslovak crown in relation to Western currencies and to the need to strengthen it in relation to the currencies of other socialist countries.

Economic Council Established; Komarek Chief

LD2212001389 Prague CTK in English 2111 GMT 21 Dec 89

[Text] Prague, Dec 21 (CTK—The Czechoslovak Government today set up a government Economic Council as its coordinating, initiating and consultative body to prepare and implement the state economic policy.

Valtr Komarek, the first deputy premier, was named the council's chairman. Jaroslav Vostatek was named the councils general secretary. The government abolished the governmental Committee for Plan-Based Management of the National Economic founded in 1976.

The government decided to submit an official request for admission to the IMF and IBRD not later than January 15, 1990 and to provide for all conditions and prerequisites necessary in this connection.

The minister of foreign affairs in collaboration with the minister of foreign trade were asked to start negotiations about the resumption of diplomatic ties with South Korea.

A constitutional bill was passed concerning changes in the system of federal bodies. In this connection the present-day federal ministry of transport and communications will be split into the Federal Ministry of Communications.

The government also abolished an instruction on granting personal pensions and definitely put an end to this practice. The maximum pension will amount to 3,300 Czechoslovak crowns monthly.

Federal Deputy Ministers of Interior Alojz Lorenc and Otto Sedlak resigned their posts. Ivan Prusa was appointed first deputy minister if the interior.

Survey of Citizens' Political Views Reported

AU1512154789 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 14 Dec 89 p 3

[Alena Borovickova article: "Komarek Leads Before Havel"]

[Excerpts] A public opinion poll on the current political situation in Czechoslovakia was carried out between 8 and 12 December. [passage omitted] According to a report which was released by the Institute for Public Opinion Research of the Federal Statistical Office on Tuesday [12 Dec], a total of 1,107 citizens were questioned.

The survey revealed that the greatest part of the population (78 percent) links its hopes for the future with the Civic Forum and the Public Against Violence movement. At the moment, only 16 percent of respondents feel sympathetic toward the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. It needs to be said that, according to the release, a better position is maintained by the Democratic Forum of Communists (32 percent). Citizens place greater hopes in those organizations and movements which have not figured on the political stage until now, such as the Green Party, independent trade unions, the Party of Czechoslovak Agricultural Workers, the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party, and youth organizations outside the Socialist Youth Union. The majority hold the view that no political parties should operate at workplaces.

As regards general elections, the view prevails that the Civic Forum and Public Against Violence should field their own candidates. One-third of the citizens are of the opinion, however, that these two initiatives are striving to seize power for themselves.

The poll confirmed confidence in V. Komarek, a conflicting assessment of V. Havel, and, compared with a similar poll carried out in late November, a formidable rise in the lack of confidence in K. Urbanek.

Almost all people who were questioned believe that the further development should proceed calmly and with deliberation. In the opinion of 41 percent, this development should proceed along the road of socialism, and in the opinion of 3 percent along the road of capitalism, while 52 percent of citizens believe that it should be "something in between." On the other hand, the majority of the people are opposed to the privatization of industrial and agricultural enterprises.

As far as our foreign policy is concerned, only one-third of respondents think that it should be based mainly on friendship with the Soviet Union, and only one-fifth are in favor of economic cooperation mainly with socialist countries, as has been the case so far. In spite of this, the view prevails that Czechoslovakia's membership in the Warsaw Pact is important for ensuring the country's defense capability. [passage omitted]

Extraordinary CPCZ Congress Continues in Prague

More on 1st Day

AU0301151990 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 22 Dec 89 p 2

[Unattributed report: "From the First Day of Congress Deliberations"]

[Excerpts] In yesterday's issue, we concluded our coverage of the first day of the Extraordinary Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Congress with Prague delegate Evzen Prusa's speech. We now report on the subsequent course of the first day of the congress, which wound up its deliberations in the Palace of Culture only at 2300.

Report of the Mandate Commission

The report of the mandate commission, which was presented Wednesday [20 December] evening, revealed that on 1 October 1989 the CPCZ had 1,617,863 members and 79,882 candidates for CPCZ membership. In accordance with the approved formula (1 delegate with a full vote per 1,000 party members and 1 delegate with an advisory vote per 5,000 candidate members), the extraordinary district and municipal district conferences elected to the extraordinary congress 1,618 delegates with a full vote and 20 delegates with an advisory vote. The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium delegated to the congress from its ranks 6 delegates with an advisory vote. Of the total number of delegates with a full vote, 1,112 were elected in the Czech Socialist Republic, 428 in the Slovak Socialist Republic, and 78 in centrally administered organizations. [passage omitted]

Of the elected delegates with a full vote, 94.56 percent attend the congress. Of the delegates present, 197, that is, fewer than 13 percent, are women. The congress deliberations are attended by 217 guests. These include some members of the current CPCZ Central Committee and the CPCZ Central Control and Auditing Commission as well as newly nominated members of these bodies who had not been elected as delegates to the Extraordinary CPCZ Congress. [passage omitted]

Approximately one-fifth of congress delegates are members of primary party organizations' committees, among whom 483 delegates are committee chairmen. One-third of delegates are members of district, municipal district, regional, or city party committees or control and auditing commissions. A total of 310 delegates, that is, 20.3 percent, are in the 18-35 age bracket, of whom only 13 delegates are younger than 25. A total of 29.4 percent of delegates are between 36 and 40 years of age; 40.2 percent between 41 and 50; 7.4 percent between 51 and 60; and 2.8 percent older than 60. The composition of delegates according to the length of their party membership is as follows—0.1 percent of delegates (2 delegates) joined the party prior to 1948; 10.3 percent in the years 1948-60; 20.7 percent in the years 1961-70; and 68.9 percent after 1970. Of the delegates with a full vote, 71.2 percent are of Czech nationality, 26 percent of Slovak nationality, 26 delegates are of Hungarian nationality, 10 delegates of Russian or Ukrainian nationality, 5 delegates of Polish nationality, and 1 delegate of German nationality.

The congress approved the report of the mandate commission by a majority of votes.

On Questions of Unity

In the subsequent part of the evening debate, Boris Novak from the Poldi plant in Kladno expressed disappointment with the course of the congress until then. He said that he expected that the congress would unify the Communists' ranks, that it would resolve the issue on which foundations the party should renew itself, and that it would put to use everything positive being proposed by the Democratic Forum of Communists as well as some ideas of the Civic Forum. The course of the congress so far does not meet these expectations, however, he said.

The CPCZ has behind it a history of almost 70 years, most of which is associated with a number of aberrations, said delegate Jaroslav Sevcik. The black thread running through the fabric of party history starts with the so-called bolshevization at the fifth party congress when the leadership and the party fell into the thrall of Stalin's despotism. The party usurped power and started to misuse it not only against its members but against the [other] citizens of the state as well. In the late sixties when it seemed that the party could renew itself, the party was raped [znasilneni] from the outside. Now the CPCZ can scarcely renew itself and it is not only the leadership but the party itself which are to blame for it. The delegate therefore proposed that the party be disbanded so that "the Mafia at all district and regional levels can be smashed." The party should cease to exist and its members can then set up a new party. [passage omitted]

Ivan Jablonsky introduced himself in the debate as political scientist and journalist. In his words the party, which set out to work for the people, committed many mistakes and thereby actually drifted onto an anti-people's platform. The CPCZ's old "sign board" is utterly useless in the coming elections. He therefore proposed that the possibility of a change in the party's name, a new political content, and new representatives be considered. According to Jablonsky, this should occur at the regular party congress which should be convened as early as February. [passage omitted]

Many speakers in the debate, especially those who mounted the rostrum later in the evening, did not want to repeat some ideas of their predecessors and therefore confined their contributions to a few sentences. [passage omitted]

Resolution Adopted

AU0301153690 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 22 Dec 89 p 2

[Resolution issed by the Czechoslovak Communist Party Extraordinary Congress in Prague on 21 December]

[Text] **On 20-21 December 1989, the CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party] extraordinary congress discussed the causes of the political crisis in the party and society, the new situation, and the points of departure for the party's future work. It expressed the will of all honest CPCZ members to carry out its fundamental renewal based on a new programmatic and organizational basis corresponding to democratic socialism, the conditions of the pluralism of views and political forces. By electing new highest party bodies it has created prerequisites for the restoration of trust among the party ranks in the party's leadership, its ability to be in close contact with the membership base, with the primary organizations and district committees, to resolutely and promptly react to the needs of the times, gain influence among people, and restore their trust in the policy of the CPCZ.**

In the interest of this, the CPCZ extraordinary congress:

I. **adopts as the basic orientation for the work of the CPCZ up to the 18th ordinary congress:**

a) the CPCZ's action program;

b) the CPCZ's provisional organizational rules.

II. **it annuls:**

a) the CPCZ statutes and the draft of the new statutes submitted for party-wide discussion, because they no longer correspond to the demands on the work of the party;

b) the Lessons From the Crisis Development in the Party and Society After the 13th CPCZ Congress, and, at the same time, politically rehabilitates those comrades who are denounced by name in that document;

c) the resolution and the conclusions of party bodies concerning the so-called crisis development in the party and society in 1968- 69.

III. **it disbands** People's Militia and releases its members from their oath.

IV. **it recalls:**

a) the CPCZ Central Committee and the CPCZ Central Control and Auditing Commission, which were elected at the 17th CPCZ Congress and complemented by cooptation in the period that followed;

b) the Committee for Party Work in the Czech Socialist Republic and the Czech Central Control and Auditing Commission.

V. **it acknowledges:**

a) the report of the CPCZ Central Committee delivered by Karel Urbanek with comments.

VI. **it does not approve** the report of Josef Trmala, chairman of the Central Control and Auditing Commission.

VII. **it approves:**

a) the appeal to the former CPCZ members expelled or struck off the party rolls after 1968;

b) the principles governing the payment of CPCZ membership dues;

c) the resolution on the assessment of political responsibility of former CPCZ leading officials.

VIII. **it elected:**

a) a 140-member CPCZ Central Committee;

b) a 27-member CPCZ Central Control and Auditing Commission;

c) Comrade Ladislav Adamec as chairman of the CPCZ;

d) Comrade Vasil Mohorita as first secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee;

e) Comrade Karel Urbanek as chairman of the Central Control and Auditing Commission;

f) a 29-member RUDE PRAVO editorial board which will manage this daily. By this act RUDE PRAVO stops being the press organ of the CPCZ Central Committee and becomes the daily of the whole of the CPCZ.

IX. **charges the CPCZ Central Committee with the task:**

1. of establishing the following commissions by 31 January 1990:

a) for an objective assessment of the 1968-69 period and the subsequent developments in the CSSR;

b) for the assessment of political responsibility for the crisis development in the party and society;

c) for the preparation of organizational rules, respectively statutes of the party, which will be submitted to the ordinary 18th CPCZ Congress;

d) for the preparation of the principles of the CPCZ program, which will be discussed by the 18th ordinary congress;

e) for the solution of the material-technical activity of the CPCZ in new conditions, including the expedient use of CPCZ property;

f) for the preparation of the election campaign for new elections in 1990.

2. To thoroughly analyze the discussions, the submitted suggestions and recommendations at the extraordinary congress and utilize them in the work of the party, the

established commissions, and the preparation of documents for the ordinary 18th CPCZ Congress. Speedily publish the protocol of the ordinary congress and submit it to the CPCZ district committees.

3. According to the situation in the party and society set the date for and determine the agenda of the 18th CPCZ Congress.

4. Immediately suspend further cooperation and relations with the current leadership of the Romanian Communist Party.

X. **it charges** the CPCZ Central Control and Auditing Commission with the task of thoroughly studying the management to date of the CPCZ's property and submitting a report to the 18th CPCZ Congress.

XI. **it recommends** to all CPCZ party bodies and primary organizations in their further activity to utilize the documents approved by the extraordinary CPCZ Congress, and in this connection pay great attention to the preparations and realization of democratic elections to representative bodies at all levels.

XII. **it recommends** to the Communist deputies of the CSSR Federal Assembly to:

a) approach the election of the CSSR President in accordance with the will of their electorate;

b) submit in the CSSR Federal Assembly the proposal to proclaim 17 November as CSSR memorial day.

XIII. **it sets up** CPCZ's election fund.

Presidium Session Reviews District Conferences

AU1912101889 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 13 Dec 89 p 1

[Unattributed report on Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee Presidium Session in Prague on 9-10 December]

[Text] Prague—At its session on Tuesday [12 December], the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee Presidium discussed the course and results of the extraordinary district and municipal district conferences, which were held on 9 and 10 December. These conferences were distinguished by the delegates' high level of participation and activity, by the absolute openness of the proceedings, and by sharp criticism of the mistakes made by the former party leadership, mistakes which led to the current crisis. They demanded a decisive parting with all those who bear responsibility for this situation. Lack of confidence was expressed in the existing Central Committee which, on account of its structure and approach, has lost the party's support; it was also stressed that preparations for the extraordinary congress should be overseen by the current Presidium. The delegates also emphasized that the party must energetically purge itself of all those who have abused their functions and who have unlawfully enriched themselves.

A common dominant feature of the conferences was the resolve to do everything to ensure that the party rid itself of the burden of past deformations, dogmatism, and conservatism and that it carry out its renewal on new foundations. There was complete support for the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium point of view on the entry of troops into the CSSR in August 1968, for the abrogation of "Lessons From Crisis Development," and for the political rehabilitation of Communists who had to leave the party unjustly. In a discussion support was voiced for the ideas of the draft Program of Action. However, there was a general demand that it be revised into a comprehensible and vigorous form. The conferences voiced their support for working out new party articles which would establish democratic rules for its internal life. The proposal to accelerate the proceedings of the extraordinary congress also received full support. Overall, the conferences supported the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium's course of action while demanding that party restructuring be speeded up, that its ability to act be renewed, and that the ready reaction of all organs to any problems which may crop up be guaranteed.

The conferences have shown that the party's revolutionary renewal process started from below and that in the party's membership base there are revolutionary forces which have the energy, will, and ability to lead the party out of its current crisis, to maintain party ranks, to implement its renewal and formation on new foundations, and to embark on a road of struggle for democratic socialism. The Presidium identified with the district conferences' main demands and resolved to make full use of them, while preparing the extraordinary congress.

In light of the fact that the overwhelming majority of CPCZ Central Committee members voiced their opinion that the existing Central Committee not be convened before the congress and that this point of view was supported by the district conferences, the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium decided not to convene any CPCZ Central Committee sessions before the extraordinary party congress.

At the same time, the Presidium approved the removal of Jaroslav Kojzar from his post as RUDE PRAVO deputy chief editor and appointed Michal Podzimek, member of the RUDE PRAVO editorial board and head of the party and ideological work department, to the same post.

Czech Prosecutor General Relieved of Post

LD1412185889 Prague CTK in English 1802 GMT 14 Dec 89

[Text] Prague, Dec 14 (CTK)—The Presidium of the Czech National Council decided at its session today to relieve Czech Prosecutor-General Jaroslav Kraupauer of his function at his own request.

The session declared as mistaken and invalid the statement of the Czech National Council Presidium on the action of police units against demonstrating students on November 17 as adopted on November 20, 1989.

Czech SYU To Convene Extraordinary Congress

LD1712223589 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2000 GMT 17 Dec 89

[Text] A working conference of members of the Czech Central Committee of the Socialist Youth Union [SYU] was held today in Prague. Zdena Tesarova, the body's chairwomen, announced that an extraordinary congress of the Czech SYU has been convened for 13 January 1990.

She also stressed that in the future, the union is to be a politically-independent organization, and rejected views that the SYU could become an umbrella organization for newly-emerging youth associations.

Originally, an extraordinary session of the Czech SYU's Central Committee was to have taken place, but because only 39 of its 88 members turned up, the meeting was converted to a working conference.

Czech Premier Addresses National Council Session

LD2112102389 Prague CTK in English 1312 GMT 19 Dec 89

[Text] Prague, Dec 19 (CTK)—The intentions of the reconstructed Czech Government in the period proceding free democratic elections were explained to deputies of the Czech National Council by Czech Premier Frantisek Pitra today who said that one of the chief tasks at present is legal and legislative codification of the current political and social changes.

The reconstructed government will further concentrate on ensuring smooth operation of the economy and on improving conditions for the education of youth, national culture and health of the population, the rights of man, pluralism of views and democratic principles of management and control must be consistently implemented, Pitra said.

Mentioning the problem of the work of the public security, the Czech premier underlined the necessity that guarantees be created for public security members, that their discipline and subordination to their command will be never abused.

Frantisek Pitra emphasized that the government will see to it that all citizens be given the possibility to freely express their views and profess their belief. It will also strive to restore the original concept of the Czechoslovak federation according to the constitutional law approved in October 1968.

Report on 19 Dec Session

AU2812185389 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 Dec 89 pp 1,8

[Report by RUDE PRAVO correspondent "nig, II" and CTK on the sessions of the 18th Meeting of the Czech National Council]

[Text] Prague—The 18th meeting of the Czech National Council [CNR], presided over by its new chairman, Jaroslav Safarik, began on Tuesday [19 December]. Frantisek Pitra, premier of the Czech SR [Socialist Republic], spoke about the plans of the renewed Government of the Czech SR until the free, democratic elections.

He described the legal and legislative codification of political and social changes, the approval and the promulgation of which is within the powers of the legislative body or the Czech Government, as one of the main tasks.

F. Pitra mentioned problems connected with the work of the Public Security Corps and stressed the need to create guarantees for members of the SNB [National Security Corps] that it will be impossible to misuse disciplinary measures and their subordinate status to the command.

The renewal process must be really democratic, with the necessary tolerance for the opinions of others. We will consistently see to it that every citizen has the opportunity to make use of his abilities under equal conditions, to freely express his views, and to practice his religious beliefs. We want to eliminate the consequences of unlawfulness and the harassment of citizens for their political convictions and religious beliefs.

F. Pitra noted further that the time has come to update the idea of Czech statehood. The government wants to strengthen the self-governing status of territorial units and their elected bodies of power and administrative bodies—the national committees. It will be necessary to change the existing approaches to their self-financing and activity. Small and large villages should have their own communal property and income from taxes and levies, and the right to decide about their expenditures and investments.

In a discussion devoted to the economy, F. Pitra said that the government will strive to eliminate all obstacles that are in the way of the full equality of all forms of ownership and entrepreneurship. He depicted a large-scale conversion to gas, the construction of facilities which reduce the amount of harmful substances that can escape into the atmosphere, and an extensive construction of waste water treatment plants as the main tasks in the area of investments. In that respect the government will give preferential treatment to the neediest areas, such as the North Bohemian region, Prague, or Ostrava and its environs.

The government wishes to devote exceptional attention to a package of measures in the area of healthcare for the population. In the area of improving care for mothers and their children it will strive for an extended paid maternity leave, increased maternity allowances, and a one-time allowance when a baby is born.

A draft of an income tax system for the population will be prepared, which will give preferential treatment to young people and will progressively tax higher incomes, and which will tax incomes uniformly, regardless of where they come from.

The religious consciousness of our nations plays a positive role in the moral renewal of Czech society, F. Pitra said in the closing part of his speech. For this reason the government will continue a constructive dialogue with all churches.

Thirteen deputies took part in the debate. In their speeches they expressed confidence for the renewed government. However, they stressed the need for public control of all social processes, by both the deputies of the representative bodies of all levels and the mass information media.

In the subsequent course of the meeting the deputies agreed that the Government of the Czech SR should withdraw the draft of the budget of the Czech SR for 1990. They endorsed the provisional budget for 3 months. They approved a law which changes the activity of the bodies of the Czech SR in the area of social and economic information, the law on the promulgation of generally binding legal regulations, and other measures of the bodies of the Czech SR in the collection of laws.

The CNR plenum also discussed a CNR draft law on setting up an independent Ministry of the Living Environment of the Czech SR, which was substantiated by Bedrich Moldan, minister of the Government of the Czech SR.

The deputies unanimously approved a draft law submitted by a group of CNR deputies, which abolishes last year's CNR Presidium's legal measure on violations of the measures aimed at strengthening the public order. Before that they approved the shortening of the legal minimum period of 60 days for sending draft laws to all deputies prior to their being discussed in the CNR. This made it possible to immediately annul the aforementioned legal measure. The CNR meeting also approved a draft resolution which returns for finalization to the Government of the Czech SR the government draft laws of the CNR on publishing and disseminating nonperiodical publications and on violations of the law.

Czech National Council Convenes 28 Dec

LD2812104389 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1000 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Text] Deputies of the Czech National Council convened in Prague today. They are discussing two constitutional laws. The session was opened by Council Chairman Jaroslav Safarik.

Approves Constitutional Changes

LD2812124289 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1130 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Text] The Czech National Council, which convened just before the Christmas holdiays, had a very short agenda today. It discussed the two constitutional laws which were submitted by a group of 19 Federal Assembly deputies and on which the standpoint of the Czech and Slovak National Council is necessary.

The first bill concerns amending the oath of the president of the republic. Its content is made more exact and simple in such a way as to be in harmony with the real political situation, with the new distribution of political forces in our society, and with the changing concept of the office of the president as the highest office in the republic, which is beyond political groups and associations.

The second bill concerns the constitutional law on the election of new deputies of the legislative bodies. The amendment deals with the text of Article 1, which says: If the seat of a deputy to the Federal Assembly, to the Czech and Slovak National Councils becomes vacant, by-elections are not held. The legislative body will supplement the number of its members by elections. Proposals of names of new deputies are put forward, after mutual agreement, by political parties and mass organizations, along with the Civic Forum in the Czech Socialist Republic [SR] and the Public Against Violence in the Slovak SR. When a deputy to the Chamber of Nations is elected the ban on imposing the will of majority [zakaz majorizace] is in force.

Both bills were discussed by the clubs of deputies in the morning and after a discussion in the plenum they voiced their unanimous agreement with them.

The Czech National council then heard a report from Minister Justice Buresova about the current situation in the corrective education institutes and about measures adopted for their solution.

Slovak National Council Forms Prison Commission

LD2712232389 Prague CTK in English 2040 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] Bratislava, Dec 27 (CTK)—The chairman of the Slovak National Council decided today about the creation of a special commission of the Council to review the situation in the Slovak prisons and to ensure higher civic control over the infliction of punishment.

The chairman of the Slovak National Council recommended to the Slovak Government to devote special attention to the situation with the aim to keep calm and to respect lawfulness in the Slovak prisons.

Slovak Party Action Committee Meets 7 Dec

AU1512163789 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 8 Dec 89 p 1

["(pa)"-signed report on meeting of the Action Committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia in Bratislava on 8 December]

[Text] Bratislava—The Action Committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia [CPSL], chaired by Pavol Bolvansky, convened yesterday [7 December] in Bratislava. The presence list included the following Comrades: Anna Abelovicova, Michal Blanar, Pavol Bolvansky, Vladimir Cirbes, Milan Cic, Herbert Durkovic, Jan Garaj, Beata Kacejova, Jozef Kiss, Pavol Kanis, Jozef Kovacik, Lubonmir Kubascik, Vladimir Minac, Viliam Plevza, Milan Pruzinec, Peter Sitanyi, Ladislav Sklenar, Alexander Szabo, Julia Trnavska, Jozef Vaculik, Helmut Vacha, Osvald Zahradnik, Jozef Zselenak, and Peter Weiss.

Helmut Vacha and Osvald Zahradnik resigned their membership on the Action Committee. The committee coopted Jozef Pribilinec and Vladimir Jakubac in their stead. The CPSL Action Commitee disassociated itself from the course pursued by the former CPSL Central Committee. It expressed dissatisfaction with the work of Daniel Futej, acting deputy chairman (for the Communist Party) of the National Front Central Committee of the Slovak Socialist Republic [SSR]; and submits the proposal that he be recalled from this office. At the same time it decided to appoint Comrades Pavol Bolvansky and Jozef Zselenak delegates to the Central Committee Presidium of the SSR National Front. In the course of today [8 December] the Action Committee will submit the proposal for filling the office of Central Committee chairman of the SSR National Front. It also recommends that other political parties and social oprganizations propose their candidates for this office.

In connection with the proposals submitted to date on the restructuring of the SSR Government, the Action Committee does not recommend that Stefan Murin hold the office of first deputy chairman and Ludovit Kilar the office of minister of education, youth, and physical training. At the same time it has instructed Pavol Bolvansky to represent the CPSL Action Committee in negotiations on the composition of the SSR Government.

The CPSL Action Committee discussed the appeal addressed to the Communists and the broad public in Slovakia and dealt with its political platform up to the time of the extraordinary CPSL Congress. We will publish both materials tomorrow [9 December]. At the same time it sent a letter to the general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ], which we publish elsewhere in this paper.

At its yesterday's [7 December] meeting, the CPSL Action Committee recalled Rudolf Cizmarik from his office as head of the CPSL press center and charged Emil Polak, chief editor of NOVE SLOVO, with the execution of the appropriate duties.

Slovak Communists Demand Greater Independence

AU1512060089 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 8 Dec 89 p 1

[Letter from the Action Committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia to Karel Urbanek, general secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee—date and place not given]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade General Secretary, at its session on 6 December 1989, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia [CPSL] came to the clear conclusion that it is imperative to carry out radical changes in the structure of its bodies, and in this way to take a decisive step toward renewing the party's action ability and its political influence. It approved the CPSL Action Committee for the preparation of the extraordinary CPSL Congress. This body has taken over the authority of the CPSL Central Committee Presidium and CPSL Central Committee Secretariat.

The CPSL Action Committee regards itself as part of the united Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] and expresses its support for you as CPCZ Central Committee General Secretary.

The conditions of our party's work have radically changed. Due to past mistakes and distortions, which also include the strictly centralist intraparty management method practiced to date—a method which ignored and circumvented the top CPSL bodies—the CPCZ leadership has failed. Likewise, the CPSL leadership has failed, too. In view of the vital necessity to revive the party and to develop its historically new political mission, the CPSL Action Committee considers it wrong for the CPCZ Central Committee to have the party's regional and district committees in the Slovak Socialist Republic [SSR] under its direct management. In the present grave situation it is necessary to carry out this management activity via the CPSL Action Committee, or at least with its knowledge. On Wednesday, 6 December, you, Comrade Secretary General, conducted negotiations with the representatives of the Civic Forum and the Public Against Violence organization. We ask you to see to it that your future meetings with the representatives of civic initiatives in the SSR are also attended by representatives of the CPSL Action Committee. At the same time we appraise you of the fact that we are opening negotiations with the representatives of civic movements in Slovakia.

Esteemed Comrade General Secretary, in the interests of renewing the CPCZ's political influence in the society, it is imperative for the CPSL to be a far more independent part of the united CPCZ.

With comradely greetings, CPSL Action Committee.

Slovak CP Commission To Probe Power Abuse

LD1112222189 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1900 GMT 11 Dec 89

[Text] The leadership of the Communist Party of Slovakia Central Control and Auditing Commission has set up a five-member group to investigate instances of the abuse of power by leading officials for personal enrichment during the time they held party, state and economic posts. The commission is gathering material on the results of the investigation of many cases in order to consider objectively as soon as possible the adequacy of party and other sanctions imposed on the people responsible for such abuses. It will brief the public about the course and results of the investigation.

Slovak CP Holds Extraordinary Congress 17 Dec

LD1712174189 Prague CTK in English 1411 GMT 17 Dec 89

[Text] Bratislava, Dec 17 (CTK)—An extraordinary congress of the Slovak Communist Party took place here today, with a delegation of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee led by party General Secretary Karel Urbanek attending.

A report of the Slovak party action committee, delivered by its chairman Pavol Bolvansky, stressed that the present deep political and moral crisis in Czechoslovak society and in the Communist Party is due to the collapse of the social system based on the monopoly of one ruling political party. The leading party bodies separated themselves from the members, and the presidiums of the Czechoslovak and Slovak Communist Party Central Committees changed into political elites, the report said.

"It is our duty to resolutely declare at this congress that we are definitively parting with the system of organization and direction of our society which underestimated...the real possibilities of developing socialism and imposed alien structures of Stalinism on Czechoslovakia's specific conditions, the report said. [no closing quotation marks as received]

It stressed the party must take account of the fact that a pluralistic political system is being established in society at a fast pace, in which the Communist Party will be only one of the political subjects and therefore must prepare for a productive dialogue and turn into a modern european-type leftist party. Also the Czechoslovak Communist Party's relations with the individual sections of the international workers and communist movement must be conceived in a new way, the report said.

It condemned the brutal action against Prague students on November 17, stressing that the party will part with all those who are personally responsible for suppressing the peaceful demonstration in Prague and a demonstration in Bratislava in March 1988.

On the basis of the concept of democratic socialism, the party will seek to form a strong grouping of leftist forces as an effective counter-balance to possible trends of restoring capitalist conditions, while not rejecting the purposefulness of differentiated forms of ownership of the means of production, the report said.

The participants in the congress were informed of a draft action program of the party and a draft action line for the period until a regular congress is held.

The draft action program said, inter alia, that the Slovak Communist Party recognizes the priority of universal interests and aims, rejects the principle of a monopoly of any political force and fully supports the concept of a law-observing state.

The Slovak Communist Party protests strongly against efforts by some forces to destroy the unity of the Czech and Slovak nations and will do all it can to develop the Slovak state within the framework of the Czechoslovak Socialist Federation, proceeding consistently from the principles of equality of the Slovak nation, the Hungarian, Ukrainian and other minorities in Slovakia. It will resolutely struggle against plans for a new national-state arrangement in central Europe, which threaten the nations of Czechoslovakia with a return to the year 1939 or even before 1918, the draft action program said.

The draft action line provides for the rehabilitation of all communists expelled from the party since 1970, stressing that the Slovak Communist Party dissociates itself from people discredited by the abuse of functions and unlawful behaviour.

The congress continued with a debate and elections of party bodies.

Wants Discredited People Out

LD1712200189 Prague CTK in English 1824 GMT 17 Dec 89

[Text] Bratislava, Dec 17 (CTK)—Delegates to the Slovak Communist Party Congress here today called in the debate for speedily ridding the party of discredited functionaries.

Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary Karel Urbanek stressed the need "to make use of the richness of the ideas of January 1968 and to lay down a realistic policy in an action program at the extraordinary congress of the Czechoslovak Communist Party." He supported opinions that those who do not have a clean record must be removed from leading posts.

Speaking of the relations between the party and the Civic Forum, Urbanek said "modest, upright, courageous and industrious people work in Civic Forum ranks and everything in its program that helps build socialist society must be supported." On the other hand many people are active in the Civic Forum in order to hide their past. Some of the present ardent critics of socialism until recently used its advantages most, he said.

Referring to political developments in the country, Karel Urbanek stressed the need to strengthen the unity of the Czechs and Slovaks and the other nationalities, react flexibly to developments in Europe, and described the Soviet Union as the main support for Czechoslovakia.

Debates Proposals

LD1712220889 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 2030 GMT 17 Dec 89

[Report by correspondent Ladislav Balko from the extraordinary Congress of the Communist Party of Slovakia in the Bratislava Park of Culture and Rest—live]

[Text] We have been following for more than 14 hours the deliberation of this extraordinary congress, where the delegates about 5 minutes ago ended the discussion about the most important questions of the life and position of the Communist Party in Slovakia in the days to come.

The evening session opened with the second speech given at the Congress by Karel Urbanek, general secretary of the CPCZ [Communist Party of Czechoslovakia] Central Committee. He answered some of the delegates questions. For example, he spoke in greater detail about the stance of the presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee on the events which took place on 17 November of this year in Prague. The unequivocal stance of the Presidium was that the security forces should not intervene in Prague streets. Despite this Milos Jakes and Miroslav Stepan, now former party members, violated the collective decision and made an erroneous political decision, which was followed by violence. They were therefore rightly expelled from the CPCZ.

A number of specific proposals were heard. The interval in the Congress is beginning just now. The proposals commissoin has, for example, proposed to the Congress to approve that the PRAVDA daily be changed from the body of the CPSL [Communist Party of Slovakia] Central Committee to the daily of the Communist Party of Slovakia. The commission announced at the same time that the PRAVDA and the UK SZO editor-in-chief should be approved by party congresses. It is as yet barely possible to assess this particular debate. The delegates voiced various views, and the proposals commission will have a lot to do in order to submit concrete and realistic resolutions to the Congress.

Originally the elections should have taken place at 1630 but the delegates have not started voting at this moment, to allow the deliberations of the Congress to last few more hours. Its concrete result will be the election of the new Central Committee, which, unlike the proceeding Central Committee, will have fewer members—by about one third—so that this would be a working and effective body. among them are only about three members of the former Central Committee and these are only the so-called rank-and-file members. The voting will start here in a moment. The new CPSL leadership, with which we will acquaint in our morning news bulletins, will also be elected. So much for the report from here, the Park of Culture and Rest, where the session of the CPSL extraordinary Congress continues. I am going back to our editorial office at Mytna Ulice.

Elects New Party Bodies

LD1812161689 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1130 GMT 18 Dec 89

[Text] More than 980 delegates and guests attending an extraordinary congress of the Slovak Communist Party which ended here early this morning elected a 93-member Central Committee and a 23-member Central Control and Audit Commission.

The party Central Committee elected an 11-member Executive Committee with Jan Siroky as its chairman. The Central Control and Audit Commission elected at its first session Jan Demikat mew commission's chairman.

The delegates approved a draft action program of the Slovak Communist Party as an impulse to an intra-party discussion due to take place within the preparations for the party's regular congress by January 15, 1990.

The extraordinary congress suspended the membership in the Czechoslovak Communist Party to former presidium members and members of the Slovak Communist Party Secretariat Ignac Janak, Gejza Slapka, Elena Litvajova, Viliam Salgovic, Ivan Gonko and Stefan Bachar and former chairman of the Central Control and Audit Commission Eugen Turza. The Slovak Communist Party Central Committee will make a definitive decision about their membership on the basis of investigation of the extent of their individual responsibility for the situation within the party, in particular after 17 November of this year.

The delegates took note of the information about the audit commission activities considering them insufficient, and draft regulations of the Czechoslovak Communist Party. They recommended the extraordinary congress of the Czechoslovak Communist Party to set up commissions for investigating the development within the party and society after the 13th Congress of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and its influence on the deformation of the policy and party ideology.

Reshuffle in Slovak Central Committee of Svazarm

AU2812194189 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 20 Dec 89 p 2

[Unattributed CTK report from the "Brief Domestic Reports" column on Slovak Central Committee of Svazarm (Union for Cooperation With the Army) session in Bratislava on 19 December]

[Text] A session of the Slovak Central Committee of Svazarm [Union for Cooperation With the Army] devoted itself to assessing the current domestic political developments and their influence on the work of Slovak Svazarm organization in Bratislava yesterday [19 December]. Antom Murzic announced to the plenum the collective decision of the Presidium of the Slovak Central Committee of Svazarm to resign from functions, and thus to make it possible to set up an action committee which would be professional, better capable of action, and more flexible [operativnejsi]. Members of the Slovak Central Committee of Svazarm then elected by secret ballot a 19-member action committee charged with managing the Slovak Svazarm organization until its extraordinary congress, which is to be held in the first quarter of the coming year. Stefan Raksanyi was elected to head it.

Slovak Government Session, Personnel Changes

LD0301203690 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 3 Dec 90

[Text] In Bratislava there was a session of the Slovak Socialist Republic government today. Daniel Matejko was recalled from the post of the chief of the chancellery of the Slovak Government and appointed (Juraj Kralik) in this post. At the same time Matej Beno and Fedor Macasek were recalled from the posts of deputies minister of education, youth and physical training and appointed (Milan Hejny) and (Jan Pisut) to these posts. It appointed (Milan Feman) as deputy minister of justice of the Slovak Socialist Republic.

The Slovak Socialist Republic Government then dealt with the current state of affairs following the amnesty announced by the president of the republic. According to Minister of Justice Ladislav Kosta, conditions have been created in Slovakia for releasing all those who are subject to the amnesty in the period of 5 days, while 3,500 of the envisaged 5,500 have already been freed. The government at the same time emphasizes that the National Committees, and mainly the economic organizations, in cooperation with appropriate bodies, should assist those who were released in finding their place in civic life and work process.

At today's session the Slovak government also discussed the program for a more economical heat production, with regard to ecological requirements, sources of fuel and power, and also the report on the state of the construction of the central heat supply in Slovakia. It also discussed an inspection report on the progress of the construction of a paper mill in the cellulose-paper combine Ruzomberok. With the aim of rectifying the errors of the past, the Slovak Socialist Republic government has set up a rehabilitation commission, which will be assessing the rehabilitation of unjustly persecuted employees of central bodies.

Report on 19 Dec Slovak National Council Meeting

AU2812210989 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 20 Dec 89 p 1

[Report by Bratislava PRAVDA parliament correspondents Antonia Vymazalova and Frantisek Melis on the 19th Meeting of the Slovak National Council held in Bratislava on 19 December]

[Excerpts] Bratislava—On the agenda of yesterday's [19 December], the 19th, meeting of the supreme Slovak legislative body, the SNR [Slovak National Council], were the program of the Government of the Slovak SR [Socialist Republic], government draft laws of the SNR, and other issues. [passage omitted]

The SNR Presidium held a meeting before the session. It acknowledged the resignation of SNR deputies Karol Straka, Jaroslav Karas, Jan Blchac, Ludovit Kilar, and Eelena Litvajova, and called by-elections to the SNR and the East Slovak Regional National Committee in the vacated constituencies. [passage omitted] Based on the proposal of the Government of the Slovak SR, it recalled Academician Vladimir Hajko from the post of chairman of the Slovak Academy of Sciences and appointed Ivan Hrivnak (without political affiliation) in his stead. It agreed to changing the article of the constitutional law on prolonging the period in which CSSR presidential elections can be held to a maximum of 40 days. [passage omitted]

Milan Cic, premier of the Slovak SR, delivered its policy statement. [passage omitted]

Michal Kovac, Slovak SR minister of finance, prices, and wages, substantiated the government draft law of the SNR on rules for handling the budget resources of the Slovak SR and a government draft law of the SNR which changes and complements the SNR law on the activity of the bodies of the Slovak SR in the area of socioeconomic information. [passage omitted] The SNR approved both drafts. In addition, it approved a government draft law of the SNR on the promulgation of generally binding legal regulations and other measures of the bodies of the Slovak SR in the Collection of Laws. [passage omitted]

The SNR approved the setting up of a 14-member SNR Committee for the Living Environment and entrusted SNR Deputy Chairwoman Janka Blazejova with provisionally heading it. Furthermore, it approved a resolution by means of which it returned to the Government of the Slovak SR for finalization the government draft law of the SNR on publishing and disseminating nonperiodical publications and the government draft law of the SNR on violations of law. It released 15 professional court judges of the Slovak SR from their posts, and based on the proposal of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the National Front of the Slovak SR, it elected57 professional court judges of the Slovak SR. It took note of a report on the results to date of the work of the commission of deputies of the Slovak SR keeping tabs on the investigation of the intervention by the SNB [National Security Corps] against a gathering of believers in Bratislava on 25 March 1988, and it noted a report on the work of the SNR Presidium from 6 to 19 December of this year.

After the end of the 19th meeting, the SNR Presidium held a meeting. It acknowledged the resignation of deputy Jozef Pocs. [passage omitted]

Government Moves To Ban Neo-Nazi Activities

LD0401141490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1341 GMT 4 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Government spokesman Wolfgang Meyer today announced government measures to ban neo-Nazi activities.

Speaking at an international news conference in Berlin, he announced that the Council of Ministers had discussed the situation in the country, and in particular the danger of neo-Nazi activities. The Council of Ministers took this development very seriously. Yesterday's rally in Berlin-Treptow—250,000 citizens protested at the Soviet memorial against neo-fascist activities—had shown that an increasing number of people are becoming aware of this danger.

According to Meyer, the interior minister had noted during the meeting that a measure such as that demanded at the roundtable—the creation of a body for the protection of the Constitution after the elections—would not redress the damage done. Prime Minister Modrow will also speak to the People's Chamber on this matter in the coming week.

In connection with the damage to the Brandenburg Gate, the government spokesman said that talks are being held with West Berlin on guaranteeing security in this area.

Berlin Organizations Protest 'Neo-Fascists'

LD0301174290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1702 GMT 3 Jan 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—Tens of thousands of citizens in the GDR capital gathered this evening at the memorial to the Soviet soldiers who fell in the second world war to protest increasing neo-fascist activities in the republic.

They were responding to an appeal by the SED-PDS [Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism], the Committee of Anti-Fascist Resistance Fighters, and the German-Soviet Friendship Society, which other parties, organizations, and grass-roots movements joined: "That's the last straw! It is too much! We need a unity front against the right! This country was born out of anti-fascism! Don't let it become a home for neo-fascists!" [passage omitted]

Thousands Gather at Rally

LD0301203590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1852 GMT 3 Jan 90

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—More than 250,000 people demonstrated in support of a united front against the right this evening at the memorial in Berlin-Treptow to the Soviet soldiers killed in the smashing of Hitler fascism.

Representatives of parties, organizations, democratic movements, and groupings called for this impressive rally against neo-fascism and anti-Sovietism. The protest was also directed against the defiling of memorials and graves of honor in other GDR areas.

The participants in the rally included the acting chairman of the GDR State Council, Professor Dr Manfred Gerlach, Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer, the mayor of Berlin, Erhard Krack, USSR Ambassador Vyacheslav Kochemasov, and representatives of the Western Group of the USSR Armed Forces. [passage omitted]

"Schoenhuber has no chance here with his fascist plague" and "Perestroyka yes—Nazis no" were some of the slogans used by tens of thousands of citizens of the GDR capital this evening.

Gregor Gysi, chairman of the SED-PDS, pointed out that it was perestroyka in the USSR that made it possible to carry out a democratic transformation in the GDR. For that reason, no type of anti-Sovietism could be tolerated. "Our country is in danger from the right," he said. It had to be banned, otherwise there could be no question of a democratic debate. Words alone are not enough. The establishment of a unity front against the right is needed. [passage omitted]

Spokesman on Need for Counterintelligence

LD0301184390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1718 GMT 3 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—A demand has been made by the roundtable that the formation of an office for the protection of the Constitution in the GDR should be suspended until after the elections. This would mean "paralysing the intelligence means indispensable for the fight against right-wing extremist forces and against the increasing neo-fascist and anti-Semitic activities." This assessment was made by GDR Office for National Security press spokesman Stephan Roahl, in an interview for today's issue of the newspaper BZ AM ABEND. The paper has the heading "Who will accept responsibility for this?", pointing out that large sections of the public are demanding effective action against neo-fascism.

The spokesman states that since November, GDR citizens have been trying to form structures like the NSDAP [National Socialist German Workers Party] model. Leading members of right-wing radical FRG parties are entering the GDR, rendering logistical help and sounding out the situation. "Our situation here is characterized by our inability to have a complete overview because of the closure of 250 district (kreis) offices, and by the fact that in some cases we cannot even observe FRG ringleaders". The Interior Ministry is carrying out intensive investigations, but does not have at its disposal intelligence means and methods. "There should not even be any acts of violence and smearing in the first place. Subsequent investigations are necessary, but cannot prevent the incident or the action."

The suspension of founding an office for the protection of the Constitution will also mean the voluntary renunciation of preventing terrorist activities, standing idly by and watching sabotage attempts and misappropriation of public property, it would mean the failure to use specific means and resources for combating drug-related crime and speculation, and would mean giving free reign to Western secret services. Stephan Roahl sums up: "We would not only seriously endanger the security of our country, but cast doubts on it. It is schizophrenic: The security needs exist, the expert staff and files exist, but cannot operate!"

Roundtable Told National Security Office Closed

LD0301195390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1736 GMT 3 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Office for National Security has ceased its activities and no longer exists in its old structure, it was announced by Walter Halbritter, state secretary at the GDR Council of Ministers, to representatives of the roundtable in Berlin today.

The functions of the former Ministry for State Security are no longer a part of state activities. Functions that must continue to be carried out in the interests of the GDR's security have been given to other state bodies. Thus, the tasks of the passport control units and the areas-of-exclusion orders have been given to the border guards.

The custody centers of the former Ministry for State Security, its prisons, the anti-terrorist group, and employees of the unit guarding and protecting buildings are currently being handed over to the Interior Ministry. Military hardware and equipment, as well as arms, have been taken over by the NVA [National People's Army] and the Interior Ministry. A new office is to be set up for counter-espionage as well as defense against anti-constitutional attacks and actions; intelligence gathering is to be carried out by the GDR Intelligence Service.

The area (bezirk) and district (kreis) offices of the Office for National Security have ceased work. At the moment 304 buildings of the former Office for National Security have been handed over to local authorities for their use.

In contrast to reports by opposition representatives, Halbritter stressed that ideas on the part of the government no doubt exist, but that there is no decision on the formation of a new security body. He assured that to the government's knowledge, all weapons of the former Office for National Security are under the control of the NVA or Ministry of the Interior. This was repeatedly contradicted. In response to relevant questions about what use was made of the files of the former Ministry of State Security, Halbritter said: After original materials and official regulations were destroyed, all files are now being inspected and saved from further destruction. It will be decided in about a week what will be done with these documents in the future.

In a joint statement, which the Peasants' Mutual Aid Association joined, the representatives of nine new parties and political groupings underlined their support for the proposal by the roundtable of 27 December 1989 to suspend the directive by the government for the formation of an office for the protection of the Constitution and intelligence service until 6 May 1990. The opposition wanted to appoint a representative on a par with the civilian state representative of the government for supervising the dissolution of the Office of National Security. It would also send at least three other representatives to take part. The government is also called upon to produce by 8 January proof of the surrender of weapons to the Ministry of National Defense and the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

Opposition Criticizes Security Decisions

LD0301174590 Hamburg DPA in German 1601 GMT 3 Jan 90

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)— The opposition at the roundtable in East Berlin today strongly criticized the fact that the GDR Government, despite a vote to the contrary by the roundtable, is adhering to its plan to set up an intelligence service and an office for the protection of this Constitution before the 6 May elections. A joint statement by nine opposition groups, which was presented by Democratic Awakening Chairman Wolfgang Schnur, calls on the government to "refrain from all actions" contrary to the roundtable decision of 27 December, when a majority of the roundtable decided to call on Hans Modrow's Cabinet to leave the creation of these bodies until after the elections.

The opposition's statement urges the government to show proof by 8 January that the weapons of the Office for National Security, which is in the process of being dissolved, have been handed over and are no longer accessible to members of the office. A report by State Secretary Walter Halbritter to the effect that all these weapons have been placed under seal has met with incomprehension and protests.

The opposition took a break for a discussion and drew up a list of demands for the government. It also wants to send its own representatives to monitor the disbanding of the Office for National Security. Socialist Unity Party of Germany Chairman Wolfgang Berghofer and others also criticized the information given so far by the government representative with regard to security.

Berghofer suggested that at the next roundtable session an expert should speak about the security situation in the GDR and present a report. The government must take the roundtable's criticism seriously, he said. "The subject of security is not a trifling matter." Church Assembly member Martin Ziegler, who was chairing the talk together with two other church representatives, also expressed dissatisfaction several times with the information from government representatives.

If the opposition receives no extensive information about security matters by 8 January, there is the threat of withdrawal from the roundtable. Schnur said that if there are no binding answers by then, the opposition could decide "to leave the roundtable." The statement addressed to the government was adopted by all nine opposition groups at the roundtable. The roundtable will meet for its sixth session in East Berlin on 8 January.

'Controversy' Over Former Security Employees

LD0301161490 Hamburg DPA in German 1438 GMT 3 Jan 90

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—After the dissolution of the Office for National Security, the GDR government maintains its intention to set up an institute for the protection of the Constitution and a central intelligence service. Walter Halbritter, state secretary at the Council of Ministers, told the roundtable in East Berlin today that the dialogue of government parties and opposition groups should be included in this work. Opposition representatives expressed their doubt about the need for an intelligence service. They stressed that there should be no faits-accomplis before the elections on 6 May.

On the subject of the financial arrangements for former state employees, which has given rise to strong controversy among the population, a government reprsentative told the roundtable that the government will be examining this agreement. Reinhard Schult of New Forum said that there is "disquiet in enterprises and even strike threats," because state employees who previously worked for the state security service, for example, are receiving additional monthly payments. Schult accused the government of throwing away hundreds of millions of marks on this. He stressed that these are unjustified privileges for employees who have wages far in excess of the average "in highly controversial jobs."

Roundtable Group Examines Economy

Adopts Report

LD0301202690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1813 GMT 3 Jan 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—At the end of today's roundtable in Berlin, the participants unanimously adopted a report by the working group on the economy that is intended to serve as a basis for work until the elections on 6 May. In it, the roundtable agrees on a grand coalition of reason with the goal of "supporting all emergency measures that stabilize the economy in the interests of our country's citizens, while preserving social security and ecological requirements and of collaborating in regulations for the drafting of economic reforms."

The condition for this cooperation is an unambiguous and clear disclosure of the economic, ecological and financial situation of the GDR and timely information before important economic and financial policy decisions by the government. Among the measures demanded are a guarantee of a continuous process of economic reproduction.

Also necessary is a "change in retail sales prices with the aim of reducing and redistributing subsidies that work against wastefulness and ensure a social balance." Through more far-reaching steps, the stability of the currency must be ensured under conditions of visa-free travel and the appropriate accords with the FRG. Encouragement must be given to the "establishment of legal and individual responsibility of the economic units of all forms of ownership with the regulating influence of the democratic state."

The partners in the talk supported a joint hearing of experts on the subject of "ways of drafting a concept of economic reform in the GDR," which it is expected will be organized by mid-January by the People's Chamber committee on the economy and the roundtable's working group on the economy.

With regard to the drafting of social plans and the setting up of a social fund at social and factory level, the report says that employment for workers released as a result of limitations on administration, rationalization measures, and structural changes in factories and institutions must be ensured without discrimination concerning their retraining and social security. Natural resources, which can only be exploited on a trustee basis, are to be safeguarded as national property. Land in all forms of ownership may not be sold to foreigners. The right of utilization must be organized in such a way that this principle cannot be circumvented. Earlier, Dr Walter Siegert, state secretary in the Ministry of Finance and Prices, had briefed the roundtable on the financial situation of the state budget. The deficit amounted to 5-6 billion marks; the agricultural losses due to adverse weather conditions alone totalled 1.3 billion marks. Problems had also been caused by inadequate lowering of costs in combines and enterprises, which had amounted to 0.3 to 0.4 percent as against a planned 1.3 percent. Each one-tenth represented 500 million marks.

At present, savings amounted to 156 billion marks, spread over 23.6 million accounts, Siegert said. Excess purchasing power amounted to 12 billion marks. [passage omitted]

Changes in Economy Urged

LD0301130390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1145 GMT 3 Jan 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—GDR Deputy Premier for Economics Professor Christa Luft has demanded a comprehensive democratization and internationalization of the GDR economy. She affirmed to the participants in the roundtable talks in Berlin today that the coalition government supports in principle the domination of public property, the preservation of top-performance publicly owned combines, the right of employment for all, free education and health care, and the maintenance of social achievements, which also determines the approach to the policy of subsidies. All of this requires the increased economic performance capability of the GDR national economy.

Referring to the formation of joint enterprises, the minister said that the laws to be brought before the People's Chamber should establish the principle of the GDR having the majority share. This statement does not contradict the intended cooperation relations between the passenger car combine and the FRG's Volkswagen AG, as incorrectly reported in the media.

It is the position of the GDR to fully develop the performance potential of its own national economy and, thereby, to use cooperation with socialist and capitalist countries. Minister Luft spoke in support of shaping the economy in such a way that the working people in the GDR will develop the consciousness and behavior of owners. For this reason, conditions for the pushing through of the performance principle should be created, above all, in the publicly owned enterprises. The working people's share in profits could be used to this end.

Referring to joint GDR and FRG nuclear power-station projects on the territory of the republic, Minister Luft said that there have been informal contacts but that no official negotiations have been held. New energy concepts are being worked out, she stated, and proposed to present these for discussion to the roundtable this month. This government is in principle open-minded toward alternative proposals from other parties and groupings like, for example, the New Forum. [passage omitted]

Luft Views Issues

LD0301122490 Hamburg DPA in German 1121 GMT 3 Jan 90

[Excerpt] East Berlin (DPA)—At the beginning of next week, the GDR Government under Cabinet leader Hans Modrow, Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], will submit the work schedules and draft legislation for the first half of 1990 to the representatives of old parties and new groups at the roundtable. This was announced today at the fifth meeting of this round of talks in East Berlin. It followed talks with Modrow yesterday, at which there was criticism of the currently insufficient information policy.

Economics Minister Christa Luft (SED) informed the participants in the round of talks this morning on important economic matters, and reported that the GDR's foreign exchange balance for 1989 had ended with a deficit. The roundtable economy working group advocated, "a great coalition of reason" for the transitional period until the elections on 6 May. Its aim should be to support all stabilizing emergency measures for refloating the economy, "while maintaining social security and ecological requirements." This declaration of support is related to various conditions.

The minister also reported on the visibly increasing problems in the job market. A total of 250,000 vacant posts will be available to 50,000 former state employees who now require new jobs. Ingrid Koeppe of New Forum criticized the "unjustified privileges" of former employees of the authorities and of the dissolved Office for State Security. She described interim aid, relocation subsidies, and the like as unfair. In response, the minister pointed out that, for example there are graduations in interim aid, and that by no means is every state employee entitled to 3 years of such payments. [passage omitted]

Opposition Forms Alliance for 6 May Elections

LD0301230790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2245 GMT 3 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The formation of an alliance of six opposition parties and political movements in the GDR for the elections planned for 6 May was announced today.

As documentary filmmaker Konrad Weiss from the "Democracy Now" movement announced this evening in a statement handed to ADN, besides his organization, the Social Democratic Party (SDP), Democratic Awakening, New Forum, the Peace and Human Rights Initiative, as well as the United Left, belong to the alliance. The "Electoral Alliance '90" was agreed on after the fifth roundtable meeting.

Further on Alliance

LD0401112190 Hamburg DPA in German 1038 GMT 4 Jan 90

[Excerpt] East Berlin (DPA)—Six opposition parties and citizens movements intend to enter the GDR election campaign with a joint program and joint candidates, and hope to win a majority in the 6 May People's Chamber elections. In the program to be drafted, the opposition wants to make clear "that it is able to govern," Konrad Weiss of "Democracy Now" said in an interview with DPA today.

The "statement of the opposition movement in the GDR on the Electoral Alliance 90" was signed by, in addition to Weiss, Thomas Sell of Democratic Awakening, Reinhard Weisshuhn of Initiative Peace and Human Rights, Eberhard Seidel for New Forum, Martin Gutzeit [Social Democratic Party] and Bernd Gehrke for the United left. All six organizations are participating in the roundtable.

Weiss, a producer by profession, explained: "Only together is it possible" to replace the existing parties. On the whole, he saw a "favorable chance." On the question of approving a joint program platform, he said: "I do not foresee any major difficulties because we are not so very far apart." A ballot on 6 May could, therefore, put "Electoral Alliance 90" next to the opposition candidate, and after that the name of the party or association.

In the joint statement, it was agreed "to extend the existing contacts and to submit to the electors as soon as possible a joint electoral program and joint candidates." The six parties and groups thereby renewed the decision made on 4 October 1989 in favor of an electoral alliance. "They reinforced the resolve to contest the 6 May 1990 People's Chamber elections jointly, in order to remove the existing political forces in government." [passage omitted]

Text of Statement

LD0401113290 Hamburg DPA in German 1046 GMT 4 Jan 90

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—The "Statement of the Opposition Movement in the GDR on the Electoral Alliance '90" has the following text:

"Representatives of the parties and citizens movements Democratic Awakening, Democracy Now, Initiative Peace and Human Rights, New Forum, Social Democratic Party, and United Left, negotiating at the roundtable, today renewed the decision made on 4 October 1989 on the Electoral Alliance '90.

"They reinforced the resolve to jointly contest the People's Chamber elections on 6 May in order to remove the political forces currently in the government.

"It was agreed to extend existing contacts and to submit a joint electoral program and joint candidates to the voters as soon as possible.

[Dated] "Berlin, 3 January 1990

[Signed] "Thomas Sell, Democratic Awakening; Konrad Weiss, Democracy Now; Reinhard Weisshuhn, Initiative Peace and Human Rights; Eberhard Seidel, New Forum; Martin Gutzeit, Social Democratic Party; Bernd Gehrke, United Left"

New Marxist Party To Be Established 15 Jan

LD0401081990 Hamburg DPA in German 0746 GMT 4 Jan 89

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—The colorful spectrum of parties in the GDR is to be enriched by a Marxist variant. On 15 January "Die Nelken" [The Carnations] intend to set themselves up as a Marxist party. The main objective is the struggle for a socialist path of development in the GDR, the (East) BERLINER ZEITUNG quotes today from a policy paper of the group. The development of capitalist social relations in the GDR should be prevented. In the necessary economic reform, large-scale and fixed-asset industry should remain under social ownership, and combines and enterprises should be given profit-oriented autonomy, the paper says. There is no information on the founders of the party.

Honecker No Longer Under House Arrest

LD0401142190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1400 GMT 4 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Erich Honecker, former general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee and previous chairman of the GDR State Council, is no longer under house arrest, it was reported at an international news conference in Berlin. This measure had had no legal foundation. Honecker has been offered an apartment.

Commission on Corruption Continues Work

LD0401114490 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1100 GMT 4 Jan 90

[Text] The temporary People's Chamber commission for the investigation of abuses of office and corruption continued its work today with further public interrogations. Former State Secretary Kleinert, who was the head of the Council of Ministers Secretariat, was questioned first. The former top Socialist United Party of Germany functionaries Hager and Sindermann have also been asked to appear.

Brandenburg Gate Vandalized; Block Removed

LD0401124890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1149 GMT 4 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—A square stone block of the Brandenburg Gate, weighing almost 50 kg, was removed on Wednesday night by unknown persons. It is part of a pedestal on which one of the 12 columns rests. ADN was informed about the most recent damage to the edifice on Thursday morning by (Horst Weiss) inspector for memorial preservation of the Berlin municipal authorities. He said that the case has been handed over to the criminal investigation department.

FDGB Denies Paying Former Security Officials

LD0301174490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1639 GMT 3 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The statement made by the programme "Kontraste" on ARD Television [FRG First German Television] on Tuesday, to the effect that an agreement exists between the GDR Council of Ministers and trade unions for financial arrangements for former members of the dissolved Ministry of State Security (MfS) is a false report. This was stated to ADN today by the Free German Trade Union Congress Preparatory Committee.

Members of the armed forces and the former MfS were not members of the trade unions. Therefore, there could be no agreement with the trade unions on regulations for the payment of money to this group of people to tide them over.

NDPD Publishes Draft of Election Program

LD2912144389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1209 GMT 29 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The National Democratic Party of Germany [NDPD] intends to seek the voters' confidence "as the party of the center with a future." This emerges from the NDPD's electoral program, the draft of which is published in Saturday's edition of the NATIONAL-ZEITUNG and has been made available in advance to ADN. After democratic discussion in the party grass roots, the document is to be submitted to the 14th Party Congress for final decision on 20 and 21 January.

In the draft program of the "national and democratic party with a tradition of antifascist basic positions," of a "party of peace and of openness," it says: "In the center of its policy is the ideal of the free individuality of every person as a precondition for the general well-being of our people." It devotes particular attention to the living conditions of women and youth.

It is also stated in detail that the NDPD is in favor of "an alliance of two independent states of the German nation with differing social orders, which must be more than a contractual community." Through national responsibility, the NDPD is committed to the democratic renewal of the GDR, to a radical economic reform, and to the free and democratic development of culture and art, science, education, sport, and the health system, in the service of the people.

NDPD Secretariat Discusses Future Course

AU1512070189 East Berlin NATIONAL-ZEITUNG in German 13 Dec 89 p 1

[Text] Statement by the Secretariat of the Main Executive Committee of the National Democratic Party of Germany [NDPD]:

— All the power for the GDR, for its democratic renewal, and economic recovery.

— Confederation does not mean reunification.

— We do not permit anybody to adulterate our national policy in a nationalist way.

— The NDPD is a consistently antifascist party of the GDR.

NDPD Rejects FRG Reports on 8-Step Plan

AU1512161089 East Belin NATIONAL-ZEITUNG in German 12 Dec 89 p 1

[NZ report: "Statement by Spokesman of the National Democratic Party of Germany on FRG Newspapers"]

[Text] Berlin (NZ)—In contrast to other local media, some FRG newspapers have published distorting reports on an eight-step plan of the National Democratic Party of Germany [NDPD] on a confederation and reunification and on the party's demand to remove the hammer, dividers, and the wreath of corn ears from the GDR state flag.

Such a phased plan neither exists nor has a petition to this effect been put forward.

The NDPD leadership and its People's Chamber group have clearly professed the program of the Modrow government and its minsters and state secretaries work with equal rights and duties in this government. Thus, the NDPD also shares the view on a contractual community between the two German states and, therefore, works to secure the existence of our GDR and its democratic renewal. The NDPD regards a confederation as an alliance between the two German states in a future common European home.

NDPD Congress Moved Up to 20-21 Jan

LD1012230689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1831 GMT 10 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The 14th party congress of the NDPD [National Democratic Party of Germany] has been convened for 20-21 January in Berlin. In view of the political and economic situation and the People's Chamber elections proposed for 6 May by the roundtable, the main committee of the party today resolved to move up the congress from the original date of late April.

Former Party Chairman Professor Dr Heinrich Homann has been expelled from the NDPD because of serious moral and political damage to the standing of the party through abuse of office for personal advantage. The further judicial investigation of Homann's financial conduct has been handed over to the prosecutor general. The party control commission of the NDPD has instituted party proceedings against Dr Guenther Trysna, head of the finance administration and party operations department. His party membership is suspended.

Deputy Party Chairman Gustav-Adolf Schlomann told ADN after the meeting of the main executive that a working committee has been formed to draft an election program for the party and new statutes. It will, at the same time, act as a motions commission. The party congress will be prepared through the election of delegates at the party grass roots by means of district delegate conferences. The main executive will draw up a report at the party congress.

The NDPD attaches importance to the statement that it bears no responsibility for the crimes of the old Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] leadership and has not been involved in any misuse of office, said Gustav-Adolf Schlomann. It is a national and democratic party on a consistently antifascist foundation. It draws on the great traditions of the radical-revolutionary democrats in German history and supports a system in which the deeply humanist ideals of the unrestricted individualism of each person is achieved. Mankind is the central element and target of all NDPD policy.

The session discussed the idea of a confederation and made clear: "We want a German nation in two German states. We adhere to the statehood of the GDR." The states bear joint responsibility in Europe. This is well-served by "a confederation of two sovereign states under international law, in responsibility and for the benefit of Europe." Who could be more suited to work for European cooperation than these two states, one of which belongs to the CEMA and the other to the EC, said Schlomann.

A broad role is played by an administrative reform for the restoration of the former Land structures, tasks connected with the economy and ecology, as well as the creation of more scope for private initiatives. The idea of a tenants' association and problems of homeowners had been mentioned. They have thus dealt with many aspects of economic reform, but have also discussed other areas. In conclusion, Schlomann announced that the NDPD is competing for the office of president of the Supreme Court.

Special DBD Congress Called for 27-28 Jan

AU1412153989 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 13 Dec 89 p 2

[ND report: "Extraordinary DBD Congress at the End of Janaury 1990"]

[Excerpt] East Berlin (ND)—The Democratic Peasants Party [DBD] has called an extraordinary party congress for 27 and 28 January 1990. This was announced by Chairman Guenther Maleuda at an international news conference in Berlin on Tuesday [12 December] after a 2-day session of the DBD Executive Committee. [passage omitted]

Modrow Receives Local Council Leaders

LD1512151689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1353 GMT 15 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—ADN has been informed that Prime Minister Hans Modrow had talks in Berlin today with the chairpersons of the area councils on the current political and economic situation in their territories, about the resulting tasks for the local state bodies, and on the approach to administrative reform.

Hans Modrow stressed that presently it is particularly important to guarantee the work of the enterprises and institutions, and also ensure the daily needs of the citizens with a view to the winter. Economic and state organs should work well together with this aim. The steps to administrative reform must be considered and carried out with perceptiveness. The government can only solve all these tasks together with the local councils and in agreement with the people's parliaments.

The chairpersons of the area councils noted with concern that the process of renewal in the country will be seriously endangered if the work of the state organs is further aggravated and the violence spreads. The government chief shares this concern. Level-headedness, a shared sense of responsibility and, above all, cooperation for the solution of problems, are the dictates of the hour. The government will therefore do everything to guarantee the viability of the state organs and of combine and enterprise directors.

The political forces taking part in the roundtable should also assume responsibility for this. In this sense, it is not primarily a matter of group interests but the welfare of all citizens. Domestic stability and a state based on the rule of law are necessary for future free elections.

Modrow Meets With Church Representatives

AU1812153789 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 14 Dec 89 p 1

[ADN report: "Advent and Christmas—A Time of Reminder and Hope"]

[Text] Berlin—At the invitation of Hans Modrow, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers; Land Bishop Werner Leich, chairman of the Conference of Evangelical Church Directorates; Bishop Georg Sterzinsky, chairman of the Berlin Bishops' Conference; and Lothar de Maiziere, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers for church affairs, met in Berlin on Wednesday [13 December] for talks that had been agreed upon at short notice.

Modrow welcomed the occasion of getting personally acquainted with each other, meeting each other, and discussing urgent current problems out of concern for the people's weal. He gave an assessment of the current situation and briefed the participants on the talks he held with foreign politicians in recent days, which were also aimed at the country's benefit and stabilization.

The participants in the talk agreed that the churches that have a particular obligation regarding the protection of the basic values of human life, bear high responsibility in connection with the preservation of necessary functions of life in the body politic. They welcomed the efforts—backed by the church—of groups and parties to reach acceptable accords at the roundtable, and to prepare the next legislative steps. The first results were assessed as an encouraging sign and are taken very seriously by the government, as Hans Modrow stressed. He said that they also served the orderly preparation of free elections as the most important step on the road to a democratic order of a state ruled by the law.

They stressed the necessity of dealing with the injustice of the past by legal means, and of exposing its structural roots, and at the same time responsibly coping with administrative and economic work that must be done now and in the future in towns and villages. They said that determined steps were only successful if the calm and nonviolent course was continued. The church representatives stressed that the time of Advent and Christmas was a time of reminder and hope in this respect.

Koppe Appointed NEUE ZEIT Chief Editor

AU1512070589 East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German 13 Dec 89 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Hans Joachim Koppe Appointed Chief Editor"]

[Text] As of now, the Secretariat of the Christian Democratic Union Main Executive Committee has appointed union friend Hans Joachim Koppe as NEUE ZEIT chief editor and conveyed best wishes for his office.

Official Announces Rising Budget Deficit

AU1512164789 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 11 Dec 89 p 2

[ND/ADN report: "State Budget Deficit Rising to M17 Billion"]

[Text] East Berlin (ND/ADN)—The deficit of the GDR state budget for 1990 will probably rise from M15 to M17 billion. This was announced by Finance Minister Uta Nickel at the session of the Budget and Finance Committee of the People's Chamber.

The main reason for the increase are low rates in reducing prime costs. Therefore, it is necessary to strengthen accumulation in the economy in order to reduce the deficit. This also determines how much can be spent on consumption, and also on travel. In addition, in 1990 certain expenditures are to be directly reduced, such as expenditures for representational purposes, for awards, as well as for defense and national security.

Uta Nickel said that by the end of November the state budget had revenues of M242 billion and expenditures of M241 billion. The majority of the combines and enterprises are paying their financial means as planned. However, the efficiency of work is stagnating in many fields. The balance of payments is also strained by the lower yields and additional imports of fodder. In total, the loss in profit will amount to M2 billion by the end of the year.

The minister discussed the policy of subsidies, where her ministry has now worked out a package of proposals. It also contains allowances to the people to compensate for price hikes. Changes are envisioned, first of all, concerning children's clothes and flowers, among other things.

Furthermore, Uta Nickel said that her ministry is also participating in investigating the "Commercial Coordination" sector. For this purpose, an audit has been taking place since Monday [date not specified]. This has also led to the discovery of money, which is not contained in the government's foreign currency plan. So far, this applies to M145 million of financial means and M490 million in material assets. However, most employees of this sector have done responsible work. The "Commercial Coordination" sector paid between 1.4 and 1.7 billion valuta marks to the state budget every year.

Calls for Resignation of Head of Security Office

AU1512063089 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 8 Dec 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Head of Security Office Is To Resign"]

[Text] The organizing group of the appeal "For Our Country" criticized Wolfgang Schwanitz for his statements in the BERLINER ZEITUNG yesterday that the staff members of the office headed by him supported the appeal "For Our Country". The press declaration submitted by the organizing group reads as follows:

1. The appeal is only to citizens, and not to offices.

2. We repeatedly stated that no one, especially not a leader, has the right to comment on this appeal on behalf of others, and on top of it, of people officially subordinate to him.

3. In view of the events of the past days and in connection with the Office for National Security, we must deprive Mr Schwanitz of the right to speak on behalf of the majority of "his" staff members in general.

4. In the present situation, the statement by Mr Schwanitz can only be regarded as a provocation, obviously aiming at questioning a minimum of consensus of the most diverse political trends in our country. It promotes confrontation, and impairs the domestic dialogue and democratic cooperation.

5. With this provocation, Mr Schwanitz has done great harm to our country. Therefore, we call for his resignation.

'Platform WF' Calls for New Socialist Party

AU1512060889 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 8 Dec 89 p 3

["Text" of statement issued by 'Platform WF'; date not given: "For a Modern Socialist Party"]

[Text] The representatives of "Platform WF" agree with the declaration of the working committee "For an Alternative Democratic Socialism" because it deals with the break with the Stalinist existence of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] and the formulation of a modern socialist party.

The SED is to blame for the deepest crisis in the GDR's history. This party has failed.

Therefore:

—Put an end to the Stalinist one-party rule in our country!

—Put an end to a structure that places the apparatus above the party!

—Put an end to the political bureaucratic administration of all fields of social life!

—Put an end to demagogy, abuse of authority, and corruption!

Therefore, the reformulation of a modern socialist party has to be connected with a basic programmatic change, including a third path. We chose this concept deliberately to show that we do not want to renew administrative socialism and that we do not want to import a monopolist capitalist society either. We will present our ideas on the third path, to be discussed by all comrades and citizens of our country.

Appeal for 'Reliable' Military Protection Adopted

AU1512061289 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 8 Dec 89 p 2

[ADN/ND report: "Reliable Protection of the Sovereign GDR"]

[Text] East Berlin—The approximately 700 participants in a rally organized by members of the Ministry for National Defense adopted an appeal on Thursday [7 December]. It contains, among other things, the call for all members and civilian employees of the National People's Army and Border Troops to fulfill the constitutional tasks of providing military protection for our sovereign GDR in a prudent and reliable manner, to abandon old and encrusted views and behavior in doing so and to part with the representatives of such views, and to consistently ensure peace together with the fraternal armies in the center of Europe even under the most difficult conditions. Neo-Nazism, racism, and xenophobia must not be tolerated in the spirit of the antifascist traditions.

Editorial Views Dissolution of Democratic Bloc

AU1512061089 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 7 Dec 89 p 2

[Uwe Stemmler editorial: "The Bloc Has Broken Up"]

[Text] The Christian Democratic Union of Germany, the Democratic Peasants Party, the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany, and the National Democratic Party of Germany have ceased their participation in the Democratic Bloc. Thus, it is a fact: What started in the first year after the war as an antifascist-democratic alliance has broken up. What is ahead is the roundtable—this afternoon a new era of democratic work of social forces will start. Representatives of the parties, which are currently represented in the People's Chamber, as well as of seven new groups will probably participate in the talks, as the host, the Federation of Evangelical Churches in the GDR, has said.

This new start has been overdue. The bloc had outlived itself, not only because former leaders of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany had abused their power in this alliance, but also because the society, the productive forces that have undergone a revolutionary development, bumped with increasing force into outdated structures that were characterized by the Stalinist spirit. People, whom modern production required to think every day, wanted to contribute their ideas not only there but in all social matters. The bloc—no matter how good its origin was—hindered this; the area was precisely divvied up for people who wanted to participate in decision-making.

Now the people have paved new ways. About 30 partners at one table. The goals of the various representatives are often still unclear, sometimes contradictory. Only one thing is clear: All of them are citizens of our country. The Constitution says: Here is socialism.

However, socialism is a society of togetherness, of solidarity, of joint work for the joint welfare. We need arguing for each other, for the people. Such arguing should be characterized by a corresponding ethics and should exhaust all standpoints for renewal in a businesslike and fair manner. And in the current situation this means, first and foremost, advocating at the roundtable in joint responsibility that the popular movement, which is admired by all the world because it is peaceful, remains nonviolent in the future, too. Order and security must be ensured for all citizens.

Foreign Ministry on Brussels Agreement

LD1512191789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1622 GMT 15 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR Foreign Ministry welcomes the approach of the so-called Group of 24, which reached agreement at the foreign-minister level in Brussels this week on specific economic measures in favor of the European socialist states as a concrete step toward greater economic and political stability in Europe. This emerges from a spokesman's statement conveyed to ADN today. This also includes the intention of these states, which include—apart from the EC and EFTA [European Free Trade Association] states—the United States, Canada, and Japan, to offer economic and financial aid to not merely Poland and Hungary, as originally planned, but also the CSSR, Bulgaria, the GDR, and Yugoslavia.

The GDR Foreign Ministry assesses this statement as an expression of a constructive stance by the West on the development of East- West relations, which is guided by recognition of an increasing mutual dependency and shared responsibility for international developments. This was also a contribution to expanding the material base for new cooperative forms of intersystem cooperation.

The efforts of the OECD states to support and promote reform processes were also assessed in the GDR as an interest on the part of these states in a stable and sovereign GDR and thus in predictability of developments in Central Europe.

Bonn Negative View of SED Congress Questioned

AU1412122889 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 12 Dec 89 p 2

[Gerd Prokot editorial: "Depressing—For Whom?"]

[Text] Part one of the extraordinary congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] was a flop, a fiasco, a total failure—at least in the view of some politicians in Bonn. One of the few positive statements came from FRG Chancellor Kohl, who said in Strasbourg that the events of the party congress and the election of Gregor Gysi as new chairman are "a very elementary change in the GDR."

Otherwise, mostly bad marks were given—by the government parties and the opposition. "Bonn Agrees: Only False Labels," DIE WELT summarized the reactions at the Rhine on Monday [11 December]. Hornhues, deputy chairman of the Bundestag groups of Christian Democratic Union/Christian Social Union, says that it would have been better if the SED had dissolved; Count Lambsdorff, chairman of the Free Democratic Party, sees the SED "at an end"; Social Democratic Party of Germany Managing Director Fuchs considers it "hardly likely" that the SED will be able to stop the phenomena of dissolution.

Almost all of the FRG journalists, who have arrived here in hoards, are striking the same note. At best—like in FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU—they admit that the effort has been made to break with the Stalinist-type command-socialism even though the "speeches of some delegates let the way of thinking they had been trained in for years ... shimmer through all too clearly." SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG sees the SED in a "state of almost complete helplessness."

We do not want to quarrel about the justification of this or that objection. We—and certainly also most delegates—could have imagined that some things might have taken place in a better way: tight organization, concentrated contents, supply of prospects. Nevertheless: It is a new beginning. In the end, the more than 17 hours in the Dynamo Hall were characterized rather by the mood of a new start than by resignation. I, at least—in contrast to the DIE WELT reporter—did not feel "a dull depression." The final scene of the party congress, when the delegates stood up like one man and thus demonstrated their closing ranks with the new leadership, was depressing only for those who had already written off the party.

FRG, GDR Panel Discussion on Relations Held

AU1512061489 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 8 Dec 89 p 1

[ND report: "Panel Discussion on Relations Between GDR and FRG"]

[Text] Berlin (ND)—On Thursday evening [7 December] a panel discussion in the consultation and information center of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] dealt with the development of relations between the two German states and between the GDR and Berlin (West). Despite the variety of questions raised and the different points of view, the audience and the representatives of the SED and Social Democratic Party of Germany agreed in general that the two German states can and must be used for cooperative coexistence and neighborly relations. An important aspect was cooperation for democratc socialism between the representatives of the left in the two German states. Unfortunately, the hall was more than half empty.

Lower Saxony Minister Meets Deputy Premier

AU1512060489 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 9-10 Dec 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Lower Saxony Minister for Talks in the GDR"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—On Friday [8 December] in Berlin, Peter Moreth (Liberal Democratic Party of Germany), deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers for local state organs, and Heinrich Juergens (Free Democratic Party), minister of federal and European affairs of Lower Saxony, discussed intensive cooperation between the communities of the GDR and Lower Saxony. After the talk, both politicians told the press that they agree that all relations between the GDR and the FRG will be established on the basis of relations between sovereign German states. The offered partnership of treaties will be fulfilled. It is intended to reach agreements for mutual benefit in many fields.

RSA Foreign Minister Arrives in Budapest

LD0301155690 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 3 Jan 90

[Text] [Announcer] South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha has arrived in Budapest. The leader of Pretoria's diplomacy will meet [Hungarian Foreign Minister] Gyula Horn and will hold discussions with leaders of the Hungarian parties. The foreign ministers will brief each other about the South African and the East European situations. Istvan Kulcsar's background explanation is connected to this:

[Begin Kulscar recording] Pik Botha's Budapest visit and his upcoming exchange of views with Gyula Horn is fairly surprising news, since never before has a South African foreign minister visited a member of the Warsaw Pact.

It is also true, however, that Hungary beat its neighbors to the establishment of diplomatic relations with South Korea and Israel. But, of course, at least for the time being, there is no question of Budapest wishing to establish diplomatic relations with Pretoria, whose racist policy it has condemned and condemns today, together with the overwhelming majority of United Nations member states.

Nevertheless, we can talk about a certain kind of Hungarian opening. Even more so since the South African Government is gradually easing apartheid, racial segregation, and recently has played a positive role in resolving the Namibia issue.

In our relations a role could be played and is played by the 10,000- 15,000 people of Hungarian origin living in South Africa, whose trips, again with the exception of the most recent times, have been extremely complicated. There are many businessmen among them, incidentally, who would be willing to invest their capital in Hungary if the necessary framework existed for this. Now perhaps this, too, will come into being. The discussions between Horn and Botha are expected to be of a fact-finding and an informational nature. [end recording]

Horn, Botha Begin Talks

LD0401101190 Budapest MTI in English 0936 GMT 4 Jan 90

[Text] Budapest, January 4 (MTI)—Foreign Ministers Gyula Horn of Hungary and Roelof Frederik (PIK) Botha of South Africa opened their talks in Budapest on Thursday.

Mr Botha arrived—at South Africa's initiative—on a two-day visit in Hungary on Wednesday.

Iran Embassy Decries Reports of Guards in Romania

LD0301192590 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 3 Jan 90

[Text] The Iranian Embassy in Budapest has issued a statement criticizing the fact that the Hungarian media has carried reports of Iranian guardsmen being sent to support Ceausescu. The statement points out that during Ceausescu's visit to Tehran, Iranian leaders protested against the Securitate's violent actions, and that the leader of the Republic, Hoseyn Khamene'i, even refused to meet the Romanian leader. At the same time, one of the representatives of the Foreign Affairs Committee called on the conducator [reference to Nicolae Ceausescu] to resign.

Iran has recognized the Council of National Salvation Front, and Romania has also said that no kind of rumors can impede the development of bilateral relations. According to the embassy's evaluation, forces that oppose the development of good relations between Hungary and Iran are publicizing the news to which they object.

Romanian Refugee Flow Continues Undiminished

LD0401091390 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0700 GMT 4 Jan 89

[Text] The number of Romanian refugees coming to Hungary has still not diminished. This was what Zoltan Gal, state secretary in the Interior Ministry, told MAGYAR HIRLAP. More and more are arriving with valid passports and they, too, are asking for settlement permits.

Zoltan Gal said measures have been taken so that those with regular passports for Hungary do not receive financial aid for the present. According to the state secretary, this is necessary because more and more people are crossing over from Romania for nothing other than the aid.

Food, Medical Aid to Romania Detailed

LD0301174790 Budapest MTI in English 1528 GMT 3 Jan 90

[Text] Budapest, January 3 (MTI)—Officials at the Ministry of Defence surveyed the help the Hungarian People's Army has provided for Romania, as well as the possibilities for further assistance in accordance with the requirements of the Romanian side. Colonel Gyorgy Keleti, spokesman for the Ministry of National Defence, stated the following:

Headed by Ferenc Karpati, minister of national defence, a small operative team has been set up to keep in close touch with the Romanian military leadership. As previously, transport vehicles of the People's Army carried 81 tonnes of food stuffs to Arad during the past few days, and an AN-26 type freight plane sent 6 tonnes of food to

Bucharest, and 94 tonnes to Cluj-Napoca by rail. Romanian military freight planes have taken 67 tonnes of food and pharmaceuticals to Timisoara and Bucharest. The bulk of the food—151 tonnes of meat and canned food, 50 tonnes beans, 14 tonnes coffee powder—was taken from Hungarian Army stocks, while 25 tonnes of lemon and 8 tonnes of pharmaceuticals were given by other Hungarian authorities with the mediation of the Army, the spokesman said.

The People's Army has commissioned 600 soldiers to help in loading.

During the Christmas holidays, a hospital train with a capacity for 400 wounded people was equipped, but was not used by the Romanian side.

The Ministry of National Defence is ready to give further aid, with special regard to transport, reception and hospital treatment of the injured and participation in carrying if required by the Romanian side, as well as help in loading on Hungarian territory.

Situation 'Normal' on Romanian Border

LD0301175290 Budapest MTI in English 1532 GMT 3 Jan 90

["Situation Normal on Hungarian-Romanian Frontiers"—MTI headline]

[Text] Budapest, January 3 (MTI)—Reinforced service on the Hungarian-Romanian border area was called off on Tuesday. In the past few days, 38 Romanian citizens crossed the green border, nine citizens were allowed to go back at their own request, and 29 were given a residence permit.

Between December 29 and January 2, 22,753 people crossed the Hungarian-Romanian border, with 11,063 people leaving and 11,690 entering the country. 227 people left for Romania without a passport and in possession of a residence permit, and five returned to Hungary.

There is a good cooperation between the Hungarian and Romanian border guards, and traffic is smooth and fast. In the given period, 1,950 aid consignments were dispatched: 1,057 by car, 747 by truck and 146 by railway.

M. Szuros Invites Havel, Others To Visit

LD0301221490 Budapest MTI in English 2152 GMT 3 Jan 90

[Text] Budapest, January 3 (MTI)—At a diplomatic reception held in the parliament building on Wednesday, Matyas Szuros, interim president of the Republic of Hungary, extended an invitation, through the ambassadors of the countries, to Vaclav Havel, president of the Republic of Czechoslovakia, Manfred Gerlach, head of state of the German Democratic Republic and Ion Iliescu, president of the Romanian Council of National Salvation Front, to visit Hungary.

According to MTI's information, Mr Havel is scheduled to pay a visit to Hungary in the second half of January.

C. European 'Forums' Hold Rally at Lakitelek

LD1712221489 Budapest MTI in English 2053 GMT 17 Dec 89

[Text] Budapest, December 17 (MTI)—On Sunday, three Central European opposition organizations, all bearing the name 'Forum', staged a rally at Lakitelek, the birthplace of the Hungarian Democratic Forum (HDF). The rally was attended by representatives of the New Forum of the GDR, and renowned writer Hana Ponicka, member of the Civic Forum of Czechoslovakia and the Bratislava-based 'Openness Against Violence'.

The contributors emphasized the importance of international cooperation and said that the political events in Hungary, Poland and the Soviet Union had greatly contributed to the democratic processes in central Europe. They recalled, however, that the peoples of two central European countries—Albanian and Romania—were still living under grave oppression and threat.

A spokesman of the New Forum said that the GDR first requires a freely elected parliament and then the issue of reunification should be put on the agenda.

Hungarian-FRG Labor Negotiations Continue

LD1812144889 Budapest MTI in English 1146 GMT 18 Dec 89

[Text] Budapest, December 18 (MTI)—Secretary of State Csaba Halmos, president of the Hungarian State Wages and Manpower Office, and Norbert Blum, federal minister of labour and social affairs of the FRG, signed three labour agreements in Budapest on Monday.

Under the agreements Hungarian programmers and software experts do not require a work permit to work in the FRG and 500 skilled workers may be employed.

Under the third general agreement on far-reaching cooperation between the FRG and Hungary in the field of labour and social affairs, the FRG Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs is to grant support to help solve Hungary's crucial labour problems. Under the agreement, the FRG is to help technically equip and supply with instructors two retraining centres. Labour authorities in the FRG are also to launch courses for several hundred experts in work-related subjects, including unemployment or the management of retraining.

Szuros Receives French Parliamentarian

LD1812213589 Budapest MTI in English 2029 GMT 18 Dec 89

[Text] Budapest, December 18 (MTI)—Matyas Szuros, interim president of the Republic of Hungary, met Alain

Juppe, general secretary of the neo-Gaullist Rassemblement Pour la Republique Party (RPR), in the parliament building, Budapest, on Monday.

The meeting took place at M Juppe's request. The French politician is currently heading a delegation to Hungary at the invitation of the Hungarian Democratic Forum.

M Juppe was put in the picture about the change in Hungary's political system, the elections, the country's economic standing, talks with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the Hungarian position on the issue of German reunification.

Matyas Szuros pointed out that the overly strict conditions set by the IMF could break the democratization process in Hungary, which in no way lies in the interest of Europe.

Mr Szuros was of the opinion that the Yalta treaty had fulfilled its mission by ensuring stability in Europe, but failed to settle certain issues, such as the German problem. Yet, how and when the reunification would be carried out remains to be seen.

Australia's Evans Pledges Moral, Political Aid

BK1612111589 Melbourne Overseas Service in English 0500 GMT 16 Dec 89

[Text] The foreign affairs and trade minister, Senator Gareth Evans, has been having talks in Budapest with Hungarian Government leaders. Following talks with leaders, including the prime minister, Mr Miklos Nemeth; the foreign minister, Mr Gyula Horn; and the opposition democratic forum leader, Dr Jozsef Antall; Senator Evans said he was impressed with Hungary's ability to cope with its current period of political change.

Senator Evans said he had pledged Australia's strong moral and political support for Hungary in its present transitionary period. He said the leaders he had spoken with in Budapest indicated that they considered Australia a possible springboard for its planned economic expansion in Asia.

Culture Minister Meets With Turkish Counterpart

TA2012070589 Ankara Domestic Service in Turkish 2100 GMT 19 Dec 89

[Text] Culture minister Namik Kemal Zeybek, who is on an official visit in Hungary, has begun his contacts in Budapest. He met with Hungarian Minister of Culture and Education Ferenc Glatz this morning. The development of cultural cooperation between the two countries was discussed at the meeting. Zeybek also met with representatives from the Turkish-Hungarian Friendship Association.

Zionist Youth Movement Reformed in Budapest

LD1712222989 Budapest MTI in English 2046 GMT 17 Dec 89

[Text] Budapest, December 17 (MTI)—The left-wing Zionist "Hashomer Hatzair" (New Guard) youth movement was reorganized in Budapest on December 17. The event was greeted in a message by Hayim Herzog, president of the State of Israel.

The Shomer movement was active in Hungary from 1929 until the Second World War and after 1945. The movement was banned in 1948 and its activists were imprisoned in the 1950s.

The festive event was attended by Ezra Rabin, general secretary of the Israeli left-wing Kibbutz movement (Kibbutz Artzi).

Kemenes Speech at 19 Dec Assembly

LD1912123889 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0806 GMT 19 Dec 89

[Speech by Erno Kemenes, National Planning Office chairman, at Hungarian National Assembly session in Budapest—live]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] Esteemed National Assembly, I would like to draw your attention to four separate issues of the proposed economic policy program which are of determining significance. They are as follows.

One: the expected development and effects of CEMA cooperation. Two: the economy's external financing necessities, their ability to be guaranteed, and connected with this, our discussions with the IMF. Three: the danger of inflation and the ability for it to be controlled. Four: social problems, risks, and the proposed sociopolitical solutions.

If you will allow me, I will outline some thoughts about these issues, which, in my view, are of key importance, in order to improve the debate and the judgement of the draft programs.

First of all, I would like to speak about the problems, cares, and economic consequences of CEMA cooperation. Over recent years, an increasing problem for us is the standstill and then the recession which has appeared in economic cooperation with the CEMA countries. In the markets which are now and will be in the future of such great significance for our economy, the well-known economic and political difficulties of individual countries are appearing. Knowing this situation, we have from the outset been unable to count on changes in this sphere which might significantly help our economic development. But we did not reckon on the recession in our ruble-accounting trade turnover to the extent that was experienced.

Here are a few new indices. In the 11 months of 1989 that have so far elapsed, the volume of our ruble-accounted imports has fallen already by about 7 percent, that is to say to a greater extent than indicated in our written document. The amount of our ruble export has fallen 3-4 percent. And all this alongside the shaping of a significant trade surplus of about R400 million in the first 11 months.

According to the latest information we gained at the trade discussions regarding next year, we can expect a further 5-6 percent reduction in imports next year. And the need to reduce the balance of payments surplus necessitates a further reduction of exports, by about 20 percent.

Esteemed deputies, the effect of all this is to fundamentally shake our economy, which is built on these markets. Among the problems and cares it is of great significance to us that, as a result of the latest meeting of Hungarian and Soviet premiers, the Soviet imports required for our energy supply appears to be guaranteeable, but naturally only when accompanied by an increase in the effectiveness of domestic energy production and the rationalization of energy consumption, which is also being forced by the proposed price increases.

The reduction in imports causes production disruptions in many areas. In the course of the year we must fight hard to bridge these, while our convertible foreign currency balance is burdened by having to make up for lost ruble imports.

For producers in our food production industry who specialize in the socialist markets, a huge problem is caused by the significant reduction in ruble-accounted exports. Since a significant proportion of the products cannot be sold on other markets, this will result in a direct drop in production. According to our calculations, in industry this could lead to a drop in production exceeding 2 percent. The produced and usable income will be less by the same amount, and the number of unemployed will also rise significantly.

A particularly serious situation will develop in the machine industry and in certain areas of light industry. [passage omitted]

Esteemed National Assembly, the other problem I would like to touch on, as I have indicated, is the issue of our debt situation and of the economy's external financing. In 1990, one of the important characteristics of our economic life will be our debt burden and the growing problem of our ability to finance our debt-servicing commitments.

In 1990 our interest payment commitments will approach 1.5-billion-dollar while our actual repayment commitments represent an additional 1.9-billion dollars. Altogether, therefore, this is about 3.4-billion dollars, roughly 200 billion forints, which represents about 10 percent of our national production. If we chop this huge amount out of our economy which is struggling with the decline in production, then evidently we will have no resources left for developing healthy economic areas, for financing the necessary structural changes. We would also have to face a reduction in living standards.

In order to avoid all this, we must continue to avail ourselves of external resources and refinancing loans, even if to a diminishing extent, insofar as this is possible.

Regarding the necessary external resources, external financing, the IMF's participation in financing the economic policy program is a determining factor, partly by virtue of its direct granting of loans, and partly because its participation in financing has the value of a reference, or a guarantee, on the foreign loan markets.

The discussions under way with the IMF have received greater publicity in the present phase than usual. You already know that the IMF is willing to take part in financing our program, insofar as there is a chance to begin the economic rationalization that has for a long time been timely and unavoidable, and to speed up the economic reform process. The proposal submitted to you by the government has been prepared with such an intention, and involves the economic and social shocks connected with rationalization. [passage omitted]

The extent of financeable external resources is smaller than our earlier calculations, and, compared to the earlier intended 700-800 million dollar current balance of payments deficit, what would appear capable of financing is an approximately 550-million dollar balance of payments deficit. I would draw your attention to the fact that, with the approximately 1.4- billion-dollar balance of payments deficit expected for this year, all this means significantly smaller external resources. Converted into forints, it means about 50 billion forints less resources, that is to say roughly 2 percent less national production able to be used in the servicing of debts and for our internal objectives. This means a further hardening of our conditions of management, alongside the already mentioned hardening of the system of socialist conditions, or the CEMA system of conditions.

In connection with some of the issues in the IMF discussions, I would add the following: With regard to our future foreign economic position, we have reached agreement with the IMF on the issue of the realized rate of exchange, and in cutting back the surplus in ruble capital investment. There is agreement on further improving our internal financial balance. In accordance with this, we propose that the state budget be approved with a deficit of about 10 billion forints, and a fund of about 24 billion for state tasks financed in the sphere of the State Development Institute, compared to the 29 billion forints prescribed in the written submission. The difference is the result of the reexamination begun of the Yamburg and Gabcikovo investments.

I must indicate separately, in the sphere of the financial stabilization endeavors, the over 40 billion forint reduction in supports.

An issue which the IMF justifiably raised with us is the need to rationalize our system of social supply, which functions with low economic effectiveness and operates in a socially inefficient way. This makes the acceleration of the planned modernization of the social security system and the housing system urgent.

I also wish to indicate that at present discussions are also underway on the issues of monetary policy. We are debating the economy's loan requirements, and we have already reached agreement on the interest policy to be pursued.

I. Horvath on Interior Ministry Reorganization

LD2212070189 Budapest MTI in English 0757 GMT 20 Dec 89

[Text] Budapest, December 20 (MTI)—Istvan Horvath, minister of the interior, has given the following statement to MTI Hungarian News Agency on the government's Sunday decision to change the structure and managament system of the ministry.

"I put forward the proposals to the Council of Ministers on the transformations of the structure and managament of the Ministry of the Interior on December 17. These deal with setting up two independent institutions with nationwide authority called the National Security Office of the Republic of Hungary and the National Police Headquarters. Under the decision of the Council of Ministers, the two organizations are to start functioning on March 1, 1990, subordinately to the minister of the interior, yet independently, headed by the related deputy ministers," said Istvan Horvath.

The details of regulations pertaining to the police and state security should be layed down in constitutional laws. We have already embarked on preparing these. But in order to ensure success and maintain order and security necessary for the peaceful political transition, we have had to carry out the organizational changes in the framework of the prevailing legal provision. This means separating the ministry from the organizations defending state security and the public order (police), involving a separation also at the local level.

The functions of the National Security Office include the protection of the consitutional order of the Republic of Hungary. The investigation and prevention of external and internal efforts posing a threat to the sovereignty of the state, collecting information required for making government decisions, protecting state secrets and guarding people employed in areas of distinguished importance, in accordance with the type of activity they do. State security authorities will not have the usual powers of authorities, such as the licence to initiate criminal proceedings or effect coercive measures. The local branches of the National Security Office will fulfil their function within the borders of counties and independently from the county police headquarters," said Mr Horvath. [no opening quotation marks as received] "There will be no change in the functions of the police of the Republic of Hungary. They will continue to investigate and prevent criminal acts, defend public order and security and maintain order in institutions of state administration, do guarding and supervise traffic. The police will be governed by the National Police Headquarters, which will attain genuine independence in future and will be separated from the ministry.

In the wake of these changes, the Ministry of the Interior will retain only a small organization in charge of national and public securtity in order to assist the minister in fulfilling his functions. The activity of the government and direct exectution will be separated. The organizational transformation will highlight the differences between national security and public security (police) tasks, and will make clear the responsibilities and the hierarchy of the various organizations. It will lead to a cut in the personnel of the leading apparatus and to the elimination of overlaps in the activity of the services." concluded Mr Horvath.

Political Prisoners Group To Field Candidates

LD2112063189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 19 Dec 89

[Text] Here in Hungary, the Association of Political Prisoners wants to put forward candidates at the elections. Our staff member Gyorgy Ney is present at their first congress:

[Ney] The Association, it was said in the report, wants to run in the elections with one candidate from each of the counties and six from Budapest.

The president proposed that the October 23 Committee be brought back to life, and the congress will also decide whether to ask the Soviet Union to condemn its role in 1956, since 1956 occurred before 1968.

The Association's members are not curious to know the contents of the latest documents which claim to expose Imre Nagy, because what they consider important is that Imre Nagy gave his life for his ideas.

Since the Association also has 250 foreign—American, West European, Australian, South African—members, they must also evolve a stance on foreign political issues. One of their proposals, for example, is that those Hungarians who live abroad but who have not renounced their Hungarian citizenship may also be allowed to take part in the elections.

MSZP Renounces Use of State-Owned Buildings

LD1512190689 Budapest MTI in English 1557 GMT 15 Dec 89

[Text] Budapest, December 15 (MTI)—The Budapest Executive Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP, MSZP] has renounced its right to use 58 state-owned buildings. Budapest Secretary Arnold Steiner told a news conference on Friday.

Mr Steiner said that some of the 140 buildings in Budapest now under party control are to be handed over after December 31.

Real estate given back to date include 6 district party headquarters, including the XIIIth district party centre (the XIIIth district is one of Budapest's biggest working districts. The book value of which is close to 1,000 million forints.

Several social organizations and parties have laid claim to part of the real estate, but the government will have the final say in the matter.

Mr Steiner stressed that the HSP wishes to retain the management right of only those buildings indispensable to its operation. Answering an MTI question, Arnold Steiner said that the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] has 18,000 members in Budapest. Monthly dues add up to about 2 million forints, while the corresponding sum at the time of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' party was 30 million.

New Agricultural Group Founded

LD1412110289 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 12 Dec 89

[Summary] Tamas Nagy, newly elected chairman of the Agricultural Association and also chairman of the successor of the National Council of Agricultural Cooperatives [TOT] the Federation of Agricultural Cooperatives and Producers [mezoegazdasagi szoevetkezoek es termeloek szoevetsegenek]—whose formation was announced an hour ago—said at a congress that people cannot expect miracles in 3 days.

The new federation is directed by a 5-man collective Presidium, which is composed of—like the old TOT—the chairman, three vice chairmen, and the secretary general, Janos Eleki, who was reelected in two rounds.

The congress participants rejected the reformers' major demand and ruled that "there is no legal or moral basis for anybody to demand from the cooperative the land it possesses through compulsory selling to the cooperative [kenyszermegvaltassal] or the presumed value equivalent of that land." The participants accepted as legal the current existing state of property affairs; while it agrees with the rehabilitation of the peasantry. Therefore, it is society's task to provide compensation; and a law must be worked out about this. Still, the entirety of the cooperative property can be registered under the members' names [nevesiteni].

The congress participants called upon the cooperatives to join the Bekes County cooperatives' movement to refuse handing over data to the government, and they also proposed that a proportion of foreign funds should be available for financing new types of enterprises and private enterprises.

Mazowiecki Receives Award, Greets U.S. People

*LD0201220690 Warsaw PAP in English
2132 GMT 2 Jan 90*

[By PAP Correspondent Ludwik Arendt]

[Text] New York, Jan 2—Poland's Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki received the "peace award" granted to him by the Trustee Association of the Bishopry of the divine John Anglican Church in New York.

Thousands of New Yorkers attended a ceremony held on the New Year's Eve here together with an annual concert for world peace.

The award has been granted for the first time and to the man who "lit the torch of freedom," as pastor James Parks Morton, the dean of the bishopry, stressed.

On behalf of the Polish premier the award was received by Professor Jerzy Jedlicki of the Institute of History of the Polish Academy of Sciences (PAN) who was in Washington on a scientific scholarship.

A few thousand people who attended the ceremony heard a letter from Premier Mazowiecki in which he said he was deeply moved and thanked them for the "peace award." The Polish prime minister conveyed to the American people "warm greetings from Poland which is returning to the family of free and democratic nations."

"Many years of crisis which has often been dramatic are behind us and we clearly see dangers that are still awaiting us. We believe, however, we can change our national life in a peaceful way, with respect for law and human dignity," the letter read.

"We are strengthened by consciousness that during the time of both sacrifice and hope Poland has been morally and materially supported by the U.S. nation and administration. Poles will not forget friendship extended to them as it will undoubtedly consolidate historical ties of our two nations," the letter said.

Findings of U.S. Presidential Mission Reported

*AU0301145390 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU
in Polish 28 Dec 89 p 4*

[PAP report: "Aid For Poland Should Last For Years"]

[Text] Washington—The U.S. presidential mission that visited Poland on the threshold of November and December in order to examine the state of our economy and the best ways of helping it has stated that foreign aid for Poland should be a long-term undertaking because our present difficulties are the result of many years of mistakes, and as a result, the economy's restructuring will take quite a long time.

The mission, which was headed by U.S. Agriculture Secretary Clayton Yeutter, said in a report for President Bush that the methods chosen by the Poles to heal their economy are "correct"—they call for a reduction in inflation, abolition of price controls, a cut-back on subsidies, and the privatization of state enterprises "for the purpose of creating a free market system."

The difficulty lies in achieving all this at the same time, even more difficult because the people involved in this work "have not much experience with the kind of system they wish to create." In addition, Poland is starting with an enormous burden in the shape of raging inflation, a low per capita income (one-tenth of that of the United States) and a huge foreign debt (60 percent of the gross national product). Nevertheless the Poles "are mustering the political will and ability to implement their economic reforms, despite their great uncertainty, the rapidity of changes, and the possible short-term economic difficulties."

The "noble experiment" currently being performed in Poland "enjoys the enthusiastic support of the United States."

According to the mission, the most urgent task is to eliminate the hyperinflation and achieve the convertibility of the zloty.

The report stresses that unemployment can be a very major problem during the transitional stage, especially because the mobility of work forces is hindered by the housing shortage and other factors. "However, the introduction of free wage incentives should make Polish workers a major source of competition on the world market, in line with the progress of the reforms." In view of the danger of major unemployment, structural changes in agriculture should not be speeded up by force in case a fall in employment in rural areas occurs.

The mission believes that the best way for the United States to help Poland is to train Poles in management, finance, banking, accountancy, and marketing. However, apart from that, "the United States should also, in line with the progress achieved in restructuring (the economy), examine Poland's further credit requirements."

In November, President Bush signed an act granting Poland about $846 million worth of aid over the next 3 years.

Antinuclear Hunger Strike Continues 3 Jan

*LD0301175390 Warsaw Domestic Service
in Polish 1500 GMT 3 Jan 90*

[Text] The 26th day of the hunger strike by Gdansk students protesting against the construction of the nuclear power station in Zarnowiec has passed. This is the voice of one of its participants:

[Begin unidentified speaker recording] Yesterday Lech Walesa's press spokesman turned up here and gave us his appeal. In general, we are pleased that he has finally shown interest in this matter. However, in our statement we expressed regret that it was only on the 26th day of the hunger strike, when it is being continued, and when there is a serious danger to health, even life. We also expressed regret that during a particularly difficult period for Solidarity, it supported the anti-Zarnowiec demonstrations, and was against nuclear power engineering at the roundtable talks. However, now that it has come to power, Solidarity has totally changed its stand. In this way we feel that we have been deceived, and therefore we are naturally continuing the hunger strike. [end recording]

Government Approves Draft Economic Laws

LD1412143789 Warsaw PAP in English
1212 GMT 14 Dec 89

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 13—Today's meeting of the Council of Ministers, chaired by Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki, discussed and approved drafts of several economic laws.

The draft law on employment envisages socialization of the employment policy through the formation of employment councils. They are to include trade unionists, employers, state administration representatives and local government officials.

The draft introduces the notion of [the] unemployed person and specifies his/hers rights and duties.

Another novelty in the draft is legal acceptance of job contracts signed by Poles with foreign employers. This is tantamount to legal recognition of economically-motivated emigration.

A separate draft law approved today lays down the conditions for terminating job contracts due to reasons arising on the side of employer. The draft specifies the benefits due to dismissed workforce.

Another draft law approved today concerns social insurance of private farmers and their families in 1990.

The draft law on tariff duties provides for free trade with abroad, and for observance of limitations and conditions set forth in international law and agreements.

The draft law on taxation of legal persons on account of growth in their pay bills contains regulations designed to discipline wages.

Sejm Adopts Laws on Unemployment 28 Dec

LD2812230889 Warsaw PAP in English
2132 GMT 28 Dec 89

[By Jan Rozdzynski]

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 28—The Polish Sejm, debating on the package of government draft economic laws known as the Balcerowicz Programme, adopted today two laws concerning unemployment.

The Balcerowicz Programme says that unemployment and the ensuing problems will come as an inevitable, but probably temporary effect of the radical economic changes.

The authors did not name the scale of unemployment though their earlier statements contained such figures as some 400,000 people who would lose their jobs for different reasons, would be moved to other jobs or become temporarily unemployed.

The first of the adopted laws, the law on employment, envisages offers of jobs to the unemployed, of acquiring new qualifications and creation of additional work places in some enterprises as well as the granting of benefits, which can constitute up to 100 percent of a person's wages, in the period of training for a new job but no longer than over 12 months.

The law also introduces an element of legal recognition of legality of the Polish citizens' work abroad who are employed by foreign employers, that is the so-called "emigration for economic reasons".

The second law—"On special principles of dissolution of an employment due to reasons concerning work establishment"—is to create a safeguard for persons subject to the so-called group dismissals stemming, for instance, from the changes of organisational structure of a work establishment, its liquidation etc. It ensures a special procedure concerning negotiations and agreements with factory trade union organisations and the right of all employees dismissed in this way to lodge appeals against the decision with courts, to the allowance upon dismissal and to a compensation for a worse-paid job at a new place of employment. This law also creates the so-called labour fund (replacing the former professional activisation fund).

"We have to realise that to the unemployed the lofty slogan about freedom and dignity sounds as irony," said deputy Wieslaw Chmielarski (PUWP) [Polish United Workers Party] during the debate. There were more similar addresses demanding higher allowances and more secure cushioning mechanisms.

Among those participating in the discussion there were also several speakers defending with determination the tough rules imposed by the "Balcerowicz Programme": "It is the real rules of economic game that are decisive and that is why this process cannot be "socially" halted, because the costs we will all have to pay will be too high," stated Bogdan Derwich (PUWP).

Mazowiecki Chairs Council of Ministers Session

LD3012234389 Warsaw PAP in English
2137 GMT 30 Dec 89

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 30—The Council of Ministers debated today under the chairmanship of Tadeusz Mazowiecki and adopted a government resolution concerning government orders for materials and products.

Government Orders

The list of materials and products covered by the system of government orders will be drastically limited in 1990 and existing administrative restrictions eliminated from this system. Government orders will only cover the production of materials and products which are short in supply and absolutely necessary to meet the most vital social needs.

The Council of Ministers adopted a resolution on setting the list of goods and services sold at official prices, aiming at a gradual introduction of market economy and prices shaped by demand and supply. The adopted resolution means further limitations on the scope of official prices to 13 groups of products and services.

The Council of Minister passed an ordinance limiting the use of income tax reductions from individuals.

Tariffs, Exports Limitations

The Council of Minister adopted an ordinance concerning tariffs on imported goods which lowers the tariffs for imported agricultural machines, fertilizers, etc., but rises them for electronic products, cosmetics and auto spare parts. Tariffs for imported cars will be 20 percent of their price plus a 20-percent turnover tax.

The Council of Minister also adopted an ordinance concerning temporary export limitations on raw materials, semiproducts and some consumer goods such as engine fuels, fertilizers, grain, flour and rape.

The Council of Ministers adopted a resolution which reduces the number of persons eligible to occupy office space in virtue of their posts.

Opinion Poll Results on Economic Reform

LD0301220290 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 3 Jan 90

[Text] According to a poll conducted by the Public Opinion Research Center, nearly 86 percent of its respondents agree with Prime Minister Mazowiecki's argument that Poland's economy has to be changed quickly and fundamentally; 63.9 percent consider that the state should control prices and prevent their excessive rise; while 80 percent of those taking part in the poll believe that the state should pursue welfare policies and assist the poorest people and those who are in the worst conditions.

Defense Advisory Body To Be Formed

LD1412101689 Warsaw PAP in English 0035 GMT 13 Dec 89

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 12—The Council of Ministers on Monday [11 December] adopted a resolution to set up a National Defence Minister's Political Advisory Committee.

It was set up to provide the main political and social forces represented in Parliament with an opportunity to take part in examining questions coming within powers of the National Defence Ministry (MON) by expressing opinions and consultations. Thus, one can imagine that the committee will have an opportunity to look into the functioning of the Armed Forces, with a special regard to such questions as humanization and democratization of military life, soldiers' rights and duties as well as the conditions of their life, billets, food and health care. Thus, this will be an advisory body not contradicting with the principle of one-person command binding in the army, Mon's Press Spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel Ireneusz Czyzewski told PAP reporter.

Members of the committee, to number between 7 and 9 persons, will be appointed and recalled by the premier on the motion of the national defence minister. The national defence minister will run the work of this body, in which also representative of the Polish President is to take part.

Internal Affairs Ministry Statements Criticized

AU1812180989 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 15 Dec 89 p 1

["Open Letter to General Kiszczak" from Jan Rokita, chairman of the Sejm Commission for Investigating the Activities of the Ministry of Internal Affairs—date not given]

[Text] Minister:

For some time now I have been listening with concern to the public statements made by your spokesman, Colonel Garstka, and I have also noticed concern being expressed by other members of parliament. However, the latest statement made by the spokesman has inclined me to speak out publicly on this issue.

On 13 December, on the eighth anniversary of the introduction of martial law, on the very same day on which the government spokesman talked about the period of "misfortunes" connected with martial law and sought to create an atmosphere of reconciliation rather than of settling scores around the anniversary, your spokesman, referring to the events of the night of 13 December 1981, said "We did a good job then" with obvious glee on television's Channel One.

This manifestation of the divergence of opinion between the government and the ministry that you head is aimed, in my opinion, at confirming public opinion in the erroneous belief that the Ministry of Internal Affairs is essentially not a part of the present government. That is why I am inclined to treat Colonel Garstka's words more as an attempt at political provocation than as a statement by the spokesman of a minister and vice premier in Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government.

I personally think that the dismissal of the spokesman could dispel the growing doubts that public opinion has about the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

Respectfully yours,

Jan Rokita, chairman of the Sejm Commission for Investigating the Activities of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

Kiszczak Interview on 1981 Martial Law

AU2112122689

[Editorial Report] Krakow TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY in Polish on 17 December on page 5 carries a 4,000-word interview with Internal Affairs Minister Czeslaw Kiszczak by TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY reporters Witold Beres and Jerzy Skoczylas, on the preparations and implementation of martial law. Kiszczak, who bears the rank of army general, was a member of Jaruzelski's Military Council for National Salvation at the time, and played a major part in planning and implementing martial law.

Asked 8 years later whether he has a guilty conscience, he replies: "No, I have no guilty conscience about it. But I seriously regret that it was impossible to stop the events that were leading to confrontation in 1981. Did everyone do all he could to stop them? I also ask myself that question."

Answering the question to what extent the decision to introduce martial law was the result of Soviet pressure, he says: "The decision to introduce martial law was a sovereign Polish decision. It was a dramatic attempt to apply measures that were extraordinary, but nevertheless Polish. Every modern country has such contingency plans in case of serious threats to its existence and functioning."

Asked whether martial law would be possible today and, if lists of political opponents exist, whether he has taken part in preparing them or whether he actually appears on them, Kiszczak replies: "I hope the government to which I belong will never face a danger that requires extraordinary measures. No one could force me even to think about, let alone plan, the elimination of political opponents, whoever they are. I am not drawing up any lists. However, I suspect I appear on some 'wanted' list as head of a ministry that is doing its best to be obnoxious."

Senior Defense Personnel Appointed 22 Dec

LD2312214989 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 22 Dec 89

[Text] The following are the latest personnel changes in the Armed Forces of the Polish People's Republic: President Wojciech Jaruzelski has recalled Vice Admiral Piotr Kolodziejczyk from the post of commander of the Navy. This post has been charged to Rear Admiral Romuald (Wade). Vice Admiral Kolodziejczyk has been singled out for the post within the Main Education Board of the Polish Army. General Tadeusz Szacilo and his first deputy, Vice Admiral Ludwig Dudkowski, have been recalled from the post of Head of the Main Education Board.

Jaruzelski Receives Officers

LD2312155889 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 22 Dec 89

[Text] The president of the Polish People's Republic, Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski, in the presence of the National Defense Minister General Florian Siwicki, has received at the Belweder Palace General Tadeusz Szacilo, whom he thanked for his self-sacrificing and many years of service. The president also received Vice Admiral Piotr Kolodziejczyk, Rear Admiral Romuald (Wade), and Major General Miroslaw Hermaszewski, whom he wished success in their new, responsible posts.

Polish Navy Commander Interviewed on Military

PM0512141589 Gdansk DZIENNIK BALTYCKI in Polish 17 Nov 89 p 3

[Interview with Navy Commander Vice Admiral Piotr Kolodziejczyk by Adam Schmidt—date and place not given]

[Text] [Schmidt] How does such a specialized component of the armed forces as the Navy operate under crisis conditions?

[Kolodziejczyk] Unfortunately the crisis affects all of us. Many people in our country think that there is nothing easier than to reduce the Army or even to eliminate it altogether. But what would be the consequences of such a move? Our national history itself can provide an answer to this question.

The crisis forces us to speed up the process of restructuring the Army, the assumptions of which have been in preparation for several years now. But this process requires time and it must have sensible limits, since the points of departure for an organizational development of the armed forces are always the potential enemy and the potential threat. There is no other way. Otherwise we shall simply become an easy prey for anyone who realizes that we are weak.

The climate in Europe is favorable for our restructuring operations, but we realize that the opposite side—the NATO treaty signatories—does not go beyond declarations and so far has been watching the processes taking place in the East with considerable mistrust. Very few concrete actions have been taken, and as a rule they involve land forces. NATO states are physically dismantling short- and medium-range missiles in Europe, but at the same time there is no reduction in the total potential since, among other things, additional warships are being armed with medium-range missiles. Therefore so far we have not seen a reduction in the nuclear missile potential but merely its "relocation" from land to sea. Consequently, arms agreements are being fulfilled merely in the nominal sense. This is why today any reduction in our modest armed forces presents a complex and delicate problem. We perceive the need to make changes in the structure of the Navy—changes aimed at savings in in the broadest interpretation of the word. This also concerns the question of protecting Poland's economic interests in the Baltic, that is, setting up a bona fide policing force which would operate in our coastal waters. This would relieve the National Defense Ministry [MON] budget and also, above all else, it would relieve the Navy of having to concern itself with matters which are elsewhere in the world dealt with by coast guard services rather than, as in the case of our country, by the naval forces. These actions would be aimed at protecting our interests in the Baltic in a rational way.

To conclude, here is yet another aspect of the crisis in our country. Unfortunately, it concerns pay problems again. We are not capable of maintaining the appropriate living standard for our Navy personnel. Hence the recent, alarming phenomenon of increasing numbers of our Naval Academy graduates requesting permission to leave the service...

[Schmidt] These days we see changes taking place all over the country. Frequent changes are also becoming a new element of life in the forces. Recently a lot has been said about "humanization" of the military service. What is the meaning of this term, "humanization of life in the forces"?

[Kolodziejczyk] The concept of humanization of military service was not conjured up, so to speak, for lack of anything better to do. It was life itself that suggested certain moves here. In other words, we have witnessed a certain polarization of interests here: On the one hand we have a hard and exacting military service and on the other we have the young people who are being brought up in increasingly comfortable circumstances these days.

Our general intention is to reduce the duration of military training. The acquisition of the required military skills should take a shorter time and the training should be more intensive. That is, the initial training period should be short and vigorous, and the rest of the service should be very relaxed. The men should have free time at their disposal and easy access to leave. If preferred, the time could be spent with the unit, but very much on the basis of individual choice: It could be devoted to sports, movie- or theater-going, or joining interest groups. In other words, we should provide living conditions almost resembling those in civilian life.

However, at this point we come up against the realities of life under an economic crisis—a crisis which affects the forces to a very large degree. You can provide for time off through an appropriate administrative procedure; it is much more difficult to offer our seamen worthwhile opportunities of spending that free time. What can we provide for these people? We have less than sufficient financial resources.

All the same, the process of humanization is under way and we are aiming to give the young men opportunities for authentic self-realization in the course of their military service. This ties in directly with the forging of good models of human relations within the servicemen's community, including methods of resolving the conflicts that sometimes occur between the senior and junior groups of conscripts.

[Schmidt] Humanization is not an automatic answer to all problems. One of its direct consequences should be changes in military regulations...

[Kolodziejczyk] The regulations are in effect our military constitution. They will have to be revised and adapted to fit in with the process of humanizing the service. A new version of the regulations is also being prepared. I would like to emphasize the specific nature of this type of service. A seaman has to spend periods of up to a fortnight or so on board his ship when it is at sea and it is, for example, out of the question for him to go on leave during that time. He has to work and be on call on board ship around the clock, as it were. We intend to offer our servicemen compensation for that effort after their ships return to base.

[Schmidt] What about discipline in the force? How does conscious military discipline relate to humanization and to changes in military regulations?

[Kolodziejczyk] The whole question of humanization is also a question of breaking down certain barriers in human awareness. This applies above all to our professional personnel. It is precisely the professional personnel who are afraid that the conscripted seamen will be offered certain rights and privileges for which the professionals will have to pay in additional time and quality of service. It is simply much easier to issue commands than to work at building up a friendly coexistence on board the ship or within the subunit. The latter is something which will have to be learned. This is why the whole process will be spread over a certain period. It is always the most difficult thing to alter the traditional, time-honored outlooks and attitudes. The aim of the new conscious discipline is to make the seaman know exactly what is expected of him at any given time and why. This will always clash with the practice of... well, issuing absurd orders under the so-called military drill.

[Schmidt] There is much talk these days about depoliticizing the forces. What do you think about it?

[Kolodziejczyk] This is a very topical issue and we can expect decisions soon. I have always maintained and I continue to maintain that, in a multiparty system, I would not like to command a unit comprising representatives of different political orientations. The basic function of the party [as published] is to defend the country. This is one fundamental truth. The other fundamental truth is that everybody subscribes to a political orientation of one kind or another. And it will not be possible to issue this simple decree: If you are to serve in the forces, you shall not hold any political views. I think that the eventual solution will be to have no party or other political formations in the forces—which does not mean that the personnel or the servicemen can have no political sympathies or that they will not be able to belong to specific political organizations outside the armed forces.

[Schmidt] These days nobody loves the forces much. On the contrary: Certain mass media show the armed forces in a none too flattering light. In the opinion of many young people service in the armed forces is no longer an "honorable duty"...

[Kolodziejczyk] There are a few fiery orators out there who have only seen the armed forces in cinema newsreels. The issue is not one of politics but politicking. For example, we hear the assertion, broadcast on the radio, that the MON resists the shortening of the term of military service because the 2 years it takes are what it needs to indoctrinate our young men so that they would not, at some later date, hesitate to shoot at their own brothers or fathers. The political apparatus in the armed forces and the classes in political science constitute a favorite bogeyman in the eyes of many of our critics. I can show the handbooks we use in these classes to anyone who would care to look. They contain the rudiments of historical knowledge of Poland and the whole world. We must teach these subjects because we get young men who cannot even find Poland's capital, Warsaw, on the map...

This new attitude to the armed forces and to military service is, in my opinion, a direct consequence of the shortcomings in our educational and instructional system to date, and also of the dictates of the current fashion.

We are all advocates of peace. Who amongst us could possibly dream of war?! But you do not conduct the struggle for peace through disarming the people and making the nation defenseless.

The Polish Navy has just introduced a new system of 2-year service on board its ships. The operation was carried out at enormous expense. Fortunately, so far it has not had an adverse effect on our performance. But I see no possibility of further shortening the length of military service. If, for instance, we were to reduce it to 18 months, the whole of that time would have to be devoted to theoretical training and there would be no room for on-ship service. The only ultimate solution would be professional armed forces which would be smaller but better qualified. In any case, if we compare a modern warship with one from the last years of World War II, we would instantly see the enormous difference in their capability and potential. In any case, strictly speaking, such modern ships as the Ship of the Polish Republic [ORP] Orzel or the ORP Lublin should be crewed only with qualified engineers.

[Schmidt] Young people today take advantage of the so-called right to refuse military service...

[Kolodziejczyk] The whole issue of the right to refuse military service is both difficult and complex. All citizens must be equal before the law. Some fulfill their civic duty to the Homeland while others shirk it, sometimes under the pretext of grandiose slogans. I personally find all these noisy and ostentatious campaigns highly distasteful and I maintain that there is nothing civic-minded about them. We need detailed legal regulations in this area.

[Schmidt] Thank you for talking to us.

Students Berate Compulsory Military Training

PM0201115190 Warsaw TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC in Polish 24 Nov 89 p 3

[Article by Jolanta Skawronska and Anna Sawicka: "Boycott"]

[Text] By the eve of the inauguration day of the roundtable debate it seemed that this time the problem would at last be satisfactorily solved. Although the Independent Union of Students [NZS] joined the talks with considerable apprehension, it was still hoping for an eventual initiation of negotiations with the Ministry of National Defense [MON] and a definition of fundamental principles of the reform of students' military training departments at higher education establishments and the military training courses they offer.

"We sat down for the roundtable talks with a package of concrete proposals for changes," recalls Robert Bitner, NZS representative in the roundtable working subgroup for youth affairs and member of the NZS National Coordinating Commission [KKK NZS]. "We asked for an abolition of the condition whereby university graduates can only receive their degree if they have completed a military training course at their university's military training department. We also asked for a reduction in the length of the military training course and the abolition of the attendant political indoctrination. We suggested that the length of the national military service be reduced for graduates of higher educational establishments. Unfortunately, the MON refused to enter into negotiations."

The issue of a reform of the students' military training scheme emerged as early as 1981 . At that time, however, the pressure to institute a reform was not too strong. The NZS only signaled the existence of the problem.

The subsequent period of martial law and the years that followed its abolition were not conducive to taking the issue up and doing something about it. It was not until January 1988 that the Warsaw University's NZS branch [NZS UW] published the first proposals for a reform of the students' military training courses.

It was before the start of the 1988-1989 academic year that the decision to boycott students' military training courses was finally made.

"This form of protest demonstrated our determination," says KKK member Mariusz Kaminski. "We expected only a small number of people to take part in our action. After all, they faced the possibility that taking part in a protest action could cost them their degrees. Only eight persons signed the declaration of refusal to attend the military training course because of the manner in which it was conducted. At the same time we began to picket the military training department."

It soon became obvious that the boycott of the military training course was turning into a mass action. In addition to Warsaw, it was quickly taken up in Gdansk, Krakow, Wroclaw, and Lodz. Consequently, the KKK NZS approached the MON and the Ministry of National Education [MEN] with the proposal to hold talks on the matter. Negotiations were indeed started by the MEN, but only with individual higher education establishments and not with the KKK NZS as their national representation. As a result of the talks certain principles of the operational principles of the military training departments became modified: Military discipline and examinations for women were dropped from the program. Persons who took part in the boycott action were offered a guarantee of no reprisals from Colonel Anysz, head of the MEN Defense Affairs Department.

During the summer vacation period this year the MON issued a decree which reduced the postgraduates' military service from 12 to 5 months. But a number of issues remained on which the MON took no position at all. This is why the problem was taken up again in the new academic year. Negotiations were resumed 13 October.

A meeting was arranged between Education Minister Prof Henryk Samsonowicz, Deputy Defense Minister General Skalski, and NZS representatives. The union demanded the abolition of military training departments at higher education establishments and the retention of only the 5-month postgraduate military training course. As an interim solution it was agreed that there would be a possibility of repealing the regulation which tied the granting of a diploma to completion of the military training course and of exempting E-category students—men as well as women—from completing the military training course. Another demand concerned a reduction in the term of alternate military service from 2 years to 10 months and the possibility of serving that term in the conscript's place of residence and according to his qualifications. Because the meeting was restricted to a presentation of the NZS position and no new dates were set for further negotiations, the KKK NZS issued an appeal calling for a general boycott of the military training courses at the military training departments of higher education establishments. A total boycott of the courses at over 50 higher education establishments resulted in an invitation to further talks (20 October). The meeting took place on Warsaw University premises and was attended by Minister Samsonowicz, Deputy Minister Grzelak, Deputy Defense Minister Gen Skalski, and a large representation of NZS delegates. Gen Skalski proposed the appointment of working parties that would be entrusted with the task of reviewing and updating the Act on the Universal Duty to Defend the PPR. By the terms of this act the present military training courses for students are compulsory and constitute a condition of receiving a graduation certificate. On the other hand, the duration of the military training courses, their format and the requirements for their completion, and—first and foremost—their program remain an open question.

"Our proposals met with a degree of understanding," relates Mariusz Kaminski. "We tried to argue from the viewpoint of the interests of students as well as those of the military. Until new or updated legal regulations come into force, women students are exempt from military training. The MON is even considering the possibility of abolishing examinations for male students and introducing military training as an optional course. The present act does actually allow such a possibility."

The union also suggested that the MON should reduce the term of regular military service. MON representatives discussed the proposal and declared that a modification of regulations making it possible to reduce regular military service from 2 years to 18 months would in all probability be feasible as early as 1990 or 1991.

However, there was no mention during the talks of the question of changing the teaching personnel at the military training departments of higher education establishments.

"It is extremely difficult to formulate our demands concerning a change in the approach to students on the part of the officers who teach the military training courses," explains Lech Zakrzewski, member of the NZS Warsaw University Committee. "We are concerned about their attitude to us, and particularly to women students. Their behavior is simply very crude."

It seems to us that it would be in the best interests of both students and officers if the vetting for the teaching posts were done at top levels by MON officials.

Democratic Party Adviser Costel on Free Elections

AU0301211790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1824 GMT 3 Jan 90

["Romanian Democratic Party"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 03/01/1990—On January 3, at a press conference with Romanian and foreign journalists, Nicolae Costel, adviser of the Romanian Democratic Party, set forth that party's view on free elections in Romania. He said the Romanian Democratic Party already had hundreds of supporters, who signed letters of adhesion and that one of its aims was to promote small initiative in the areas of food, hotels and consumer goods.

Nicolae Costel said he was not a member of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party] and that the Romanian Democratic Party was not a false facade of the National Salvation Front.

Government Issues Decree-Law on Public Meetings

AU0301212190 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 2000 GMT 3 Jan 90

[Decree-law on the Organization of Public Meetings issued by the Council of the National Salvation Front in Bucharest—date not given]

[Text] Decree-Law on Organization of Public Meetings—The Council of the National Salvation Front decrees:

Article 1. Public meetings are authorized as an expression of freedom of speech [word indistinct] and of the organization of citizens' participation in the country's public life.

Article 2. In order to guarantee the normal course of socioeconomic activities and ensure public order and calm, public meetings in markets and other open areas can only take place after they have been registered, by their organizers with the police organs of the locality where the meetings are to be held, at least 48 hours in advance.

Article 3. Organizers of public meetings are obliged to take all necessary steps to ensure that the meetings proceed peacefully, by avoiding any act of violence or disorder.

Article 4. In case of material damage or other violations, the meeting organizers, together with the direct perpetrators of such infringements, are held responsible before the law.

The decree-law is signed by Ion Iliescu, President of the Council of the National Salvation Front.

Vice President Views Elections, Nationalities

AU0301170490 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 3 Jan 90 p 8

[Interview with Vice President Karoly Kiraly by Boris Kalnoky; date and place not given: "We Need, Above All, the People's Determination"]

[Text] [Kalnoky] Mr. Vice President, yesterday you were threatened by Ceausescu's henchmen and today you are the most powerful Hungarian in Romania. What are your feelings? What are your goals?

[Kiraly] It is my goal to serve the interests of the Hungarians in Transylvania, and not to make a career for myself. If I am unable to adequately represent these interests, I will join the opposition. I have been in the opposition all my life, even when I was a State Council member in 1972.

[Kalnoky] What opposition are you talking about? There was no opposition under Ceausescu. There is now no organization outside the National Salvation Front. Have the elections been scheduled so soon—April 1990—so as not to give any possible opposition a chance?

[Kiraly] The opposition will have time enough by April 1990, and the political interests of all groups of the Romanian people will have the opportunity to articulate themselves.

[Kalnoky] Do you give such an opposition a chance in April?

[Kiraly] No, I think the people's wishes are identical with the goals of the new government.

[Kalnoky] Is the new Romania threatened by ethnic conflicts?

[Kiraly] I do not think Romania is threatened; however, there will be conflicts because Ceausescu's policy was based on Romanian nationalism. This nationalism is deeply rooted in the Romanian people. There are now already indications of nationalism on both sides. The government must make a careful approach in this respect and must show understanding to guarantee equality of all nationalities. For the moment we are all equal; however, the Romanians are more equal.

[Kalnoky] Do you see a chance for Transylvania to be given regional autonomy?

[Kiraly] If we solve the problem related to the equality of nationalities in Transylvania, such regional or territorial autonomy is conceivable. We need a multi-language education. Three languages are spoken in Transylvania.

[Kalnoky] Will Romania become capitalist?

[Kiraly] We have accepted essential elements of the capitalist market economy—private ownership and free enterprise. We will have to go back in our highly collectivized regions and decollectivize. To accomplish this, we need a legal framework, a Constitution, and we are now working on one. However, above all, we need the people's determination. We must learn. We must not only change our economic thinking, but must also learn democracy. Many people believe now that the evil Ceausescu regime has been replaced by a good regime. Therefore, they believe that they must only do good things for the new government—and already democracy is finished. People must learn to think critically, and the government must learn to take their criticism seriously.

[Kalnoky] What help could the Federal Republic give, especially in view of the 150,000 Transylvanian Saxons and Banat Swabians?

[Kiraly] The FRG can do a lot. I am not only thinking of economic aid, but above all of relations between peoples. Our Transylvanians who emigrated must come back. Those who have stayed here must go elsewhere to become familiar with democracy. We need a democratic press, democratic means of communication, and democratic education. New people must be employed in the educational system.

Hundreds Demonstrate Against Leadership in Sibiu

AU0301204290 Paris AFP in English 2001 GMT 3 Jan 90

[Text] Bucharest, Jan 3 (AFP)—Several hundred people took to the streets of Sibiu, central Romania, on Wednesday, protesting that some of the country's new leaders had collaborated with the dictatorship of Nicolae Ceausescu, reliable sources said here.

The demonstration, believed to be the first against members of the National Salvation Front (NSF) which now holds power in Romania, passed off peacefully, the sources said.

Romanian television made no mention of demonstrations in Sibiu, a provincial capital about 200 kilometres (125 miles) northwest of Bucharest where Mr. Ceausescu's son Nicu held sway until the dictatorship fell on December 22.

The television's Wednesday evening broadcast reported, however, that the NSF had just issued a decree permitting Romanians to hold public meetings and demonstrations.

Under the terms of the decree, the organisers must give the police 48 hours' notice of a demonstration, and must take all necessary steps to ensure that there is no violence.

Reports of the demonstration in Sibiu follow attacks published by Romanian newspapers on people who allegedly supported the Ceausescu regime, then voiced support for the revolution which ousted it.

They also follow a public controversy which began when the Defence Minister, General Nicolae Militaru, was shown on a video film saying that the NSF began plotting the revolution six months ago.

The NSF contains several people who held positions of authority under Mr. Ceausescu and who were sacked or demoted.

Students Protest Jobs for Ceausescu Loyalists

AU0401141090 Paris AFP in English 1316 GMT 4 Jan 90

[Excerpts] Bucharest, Jan 4 (AFP)—Students in the Romanian city of Craiova took to the streets Thursday to protest a decision by city officials to take on former henchmen of the late dictator Nicolae Ceausescu, student sources said here.

Students, whose exact number was not immediately known, were manhandled by by-standers, but no further incidents were reported, the sources added.

The demonstration was not reported by official sources. [passage omitted]

In another development, the Romanian Student League (union) announced that students from all parts of the country will meet here in mid-January to elect a standing committee.

NSF Communique on PEC Members' Arrest

AU0301212690 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 2002 GMT 3 Jan 90

[Text] In connection with some information that has been published in the international press, ROMPRES is empowered to note the following:

Among the members of the former Political Executive Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, the only members who have been arrested and are currently being investigated are those who were directly linked with the repressive measures and abuse of power in connection with the state treasury, committed by the former dictators of Romania.

In connection with the number of victims registered in Timisoara, Bucharest, and other parts of the country, the first published figures were exaggerated. Currently, a thorough investigation has begun in order to establish the exact number of casualties and wounded both among the Army and civilians. None of the figures currently circulating is final or confirmed by the appropriate entity.

In connection with the National Salvation Front, we are able to say that it is not, and it will not be, established as a party. The Front will be present at the April elections as a broad political organization which comprises all personalities and groups that have courageously risen in defense of freedom and dignity in the years of the totalitarian tyranny.

NSF Council Meets With County Presidents

AU0401113490 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1100 GMT 4 Jan 90

[Text] A meeting between the Council of the National Salvation Front [NSF] and the presidents of the county councils of the NSF began in Bucharest half an hour ago.

In opening the meeting, NSF President Ion Iliescu presented the subjects to be discussed.

—A government report, which will be presented by Prime Minister Petre Roman, on the activity carried out so far and on the problems with which the Romanian economy is confronted after 25 years of dictatorship.

—Then NSF First Deputy President Dumitru Mazilu will discuss the activity in connection with the formulation of the new draft constitution and new electoral law.

—The agenda of the meeting also includes guidelines on the progress of the activity of the NSF's local councils and of the councils in enterprises and institutions.

—A proposal was also made to present a Draft Platform of the NSF on the nationality problem.

The meeting is in progress at this hour.

Iliescu Appoints New Justice Minister

AU0301211190 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 2000 GMT 3 Jan 90

[Text] The Council of National Salvation Front decrees:

Article 1. Teofil Pop is appointed to office of minister of justice.

Article 2. Teodor Vasiliu is appointed to the office of chairman of the Supreme Court of Justice.

Signed by Ion Iliescu, president of the Council of the National Salvation Front.

Deputy Ministers for Economy Appointed

AU0301145690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1243 GMT 3 Jan 90

["Further Measures for Government Organization Under Decrees of the National Salvation"—ROMPRES headline]

[Excerpt] Bucharest ROMPRES 3/1/1990—[passage omitted] According to a decision of the head of the Romanian Government, Petre Roman, Lieutenant General Alexandru Danescu was released from the office of vice-chairman of the State Planning Committee and head of the General State Reserves Department in view of his pensioning, while Vasile Iorgulescu was released from the office of deputy minister of technical and material supply and control over fixed assets administration.

Under a resolution signed by the prime minister, Alexandru Badescu, Constantin Bostina, Dumitru Breaban, Constantin Caloianu, Traian Carpen, Col. Constantin Dinca (also head of the General State Reserves Department), Gheorghe Gheaus, Col. Victor Nastase, Dumitru Popescu, Bujor Rosca, Gheorghe Stanca, Mihail Tenea, Nicolae Vacaroiu were appointed deputy ministers of the national economy.

Foreign Trade Enterprise 'Mercur' Established

AU0301174090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1300 GMT 3 Jan 90

["'Mercur' Enterprise Set Up"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 3/1/1990—Romania's Government decided that the foundation of the foreign trade enterprise "Mercur" based in Bucharest, is to deal with export, import, goods exchanges and other foreign trade operations, more particularly regarding consumer goods and equipment, including exchanges between trading enterprises, department stores and cooperative organizations.

The enterprise, which is to operate according to economic efficiency criteria and is to cover its lei and hard currency expenses from its own returns, meets the requirements in this sphere of the Ministry of Home Trade, Ministry of Tourism, CENTROCOOP [Production, Purchasing, and Commodity Sales Cooperatives] and other ministries and organizations dealing with consumer goods production and selling.

News Conference Held at Agriculture Ministry

AU0301215990 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 2006 GMT 3 Jan 90

[Text] A news conference was held at the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Industry. Victor Surdu, minister secretary of state, made a number of comments in connection with granting arable land for agricultural use and with granting credits to the agricultural producers. It is noteworthy mentioning the note regarding the simplification of the organizational structure, the elimination of intermediaries, and the fact that emphasis will be placed on producers and on their initiatives. Within this context, it was announced that the former state and cooperative joint agro-industrial councils have ceased their activity and their personnel will be employed in productive units.

Chief of Staff Ionel Gives News Conference

AU0301190390 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1800 GMT 3 Jan 90

[Text] At a news conference held this afternoon at the press center of the Intercontinental Hotel in Bucharest, Colonel General Vasile Ionel, first deputy minister of national defense and chief of staff, answered questions raised by Romanian and foreign journalists.

Colonel General Vasile Ionel said that the Romanian Army has always been with the people, fighting to save the achievements of the revolution. In the future, the Army will firmly defend the people and the country. He said that the Army is currently in complete control of the situation in the capital and the other areas. Calm has returned throughout and life is resuming its normal course. However, the Army remains on alert, guarding installations entrusted to it and ensuring the people's security.

In answer to a question, Colonel General Vasile Ionel said that the exact number of terrorists involved in the fighting is not known, but there were surely several thousand. At this time, there are no longer any organized groups of terrorists and one should not listen to rumors about such groups hiding in bunkers or the Carpathian Mountains. The speaker also said that there was no proof of mercenaries participating in terrorist acts and denied rumors that foreign ships are present in the Black Sea to aid the escape of terrorist or mercenary elements from our national territory.

At the end of the news conference, the Chief of Staff reiterated that the revolution was carried out by the Romanian people and the Romanian Army joined and supported the revolution, as it has joined and supports the policy and program of the National Salvation Front.

NSF Publishes Proposals for Educational Reform

AU0401114290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1920 GMT 3 Jan 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 31/1990—The National Salvation Front's Commission for Science and Instruction [Education] has published a number of proposals to set Romanian instruction on a scientific, humanist basis and to change its structure without, however, affecting the last year of the high or higher schools, on which written opinions are invited.

The proposal is made to dissolve industrial high schools, which make up 94 percent of Romania's high schools; to recreate theoretical high schools that place emphasis either on classical letters or on exact sciences, or a combination of the two; and to restore art, sports and other high schools. As high schools at present fail to supply appropriately trained staff, the commission suggests the creation of post-graduate economic, health, managerial and other schools, while faculties giving four-year evening courses, such as schools for bachelor engineers, are to be dissolved after the 1989-1990 class has graduated. Another proposal refers to the dissolution of evening courses high schools in the same conditions.

To provide for a constant, efficient training and to promote competence a proposal is made to maintain high school stage exams and to hold one faculty-admission exam a year. Prior to the respective exam, a preparation year is suggested, which should be paid for and should be attended by pupils who feel they need additional training. In this way, costly tutoring classes, which families of lower incomes cannot afford, are given up. All high school graduates, no matter what their specialty training, will be able to apply for admission to any faculty, it is suggested.

With the exception of 1990, a school-living-certificate exam should be taken in five subjects, of which two—the Romanian language and a foreign language—are compulsory, while the rest will be chosen according to the respective high school's specialization.

In the case of academic education, a proposal is made to dissolve extramural courses—after this year's class has graduated—to maintain evening courses—with the exception of the faculty of art—as an incentive for those who fail their admission exam, and to inverse evening courses in the sense that they will be attended in the morning with the attendants working in the second shift, either four hours or eight hours, upon request.

Other proposals refer to: paid teaching classes for research staff, the students' possibility to attend only the courses given by their favourite professor, when the same subject is taught by several professors, and to take their exams with that professor; the possibility to take their examinations on request, either in winter or in summer, and for periods of two years, which will not affect their graduation to the next year; the possibility to attend two faculties at the same time, of which one giving evening courses, so that they may meet the minimal-attendance requirement, etc.

It is also suggested to introduce the study of a foreign language starting with the first or fifth grade in primary schools and a five-day studying schedule starting with the second semester for students and the third trimester for pupils in the current school year, to do away with the practical terms of theoretical high school pupils and limit those terms to three weeks per trimester in the case of high schools that award training certificates, to introduce a 20-day practical term for students, to be performed in June, to fulfil palpable tasks and to conclude with a final examination equal in importance with the other subjects; to give free days for the school-going population on Easter.

More on Education

AU2912232289 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2202 GMT 29 Dec 89

["From the Ministry of Public Education of Romania"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 29/12/1989—At the entrance examinations for higher learning institutions in Romania (in June and September 1989), several candidates were rejected, although their marks were the same as those of the last candidate to have passed the examinations. Artificial criteria such as the priority of one of the exams, were invoked. To redress this wrong, the ministry of public education enrolled the latter in the 1989-1990 academic year, as first-year students.

Television Interview With Interior Minister

AU0301224290 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 2008 GMT 3 Jan 90

[Radio relay of a Romanian television interview with Minister of Interior Colonel General Mihai Gheorghe Ghitac in Bucharest on 3 January—recorded]

[Text] [Radio announcer] We will now present an analysis of the current situation of the country made by the minister of interior on free Romanian television.

[Television interviewer] We have come to this working meeting you are holding with the intent to ask you, Mr Minister: What is your agenda?

[Ghitac] I have convened a meeting of main responsible people from the Ministry of Interior at the General Police Inspectorate. Maybe, to begin with, I should explain why I have called them here. Immediately after I was appointed minister of the interior, we carried out our duties, so to speak, in the hottest place. During that time, the most sensitive area was the police. This was a consequence—as the population and all of us know—of the terrorist actions that took place for almost seven days in Bucharest and throughout the country.

What we have proposed for today is to approach a more important question. I do not know if we have formulated a precise subject. However, we want one thing: We want to discuss the following questions: What forms and methods should our bodies of the Ministry of Interior, the police, the workers active in the area of penitentiaries, and others who are working at the passport office, the firemen, and the other bodies of the Ministry of Interior adopt? And what should we do to improve our work style and methods in order to link them more closely with the revolution?

I have been asked: What is happening with those the Romanian police who are still on the side of the tyrant Ceausescu? I answered this question then and formed my conviction and subsequently have been proven correct. The Ceausescu regime was a regime of terror for the farmers, the workers, the intellectuals, the police, soldiers, officers, and for the generals. For all of them, it was a regime of terror. The Police force was terrorized and, therefore, it was completely on the side of the revolution from the onset.

We cannot say that there were no cases of people who had compromised themselves during the former regime, who had compromised themselves in front of the population, and who have since been removed from the ranks of the police. At this point, the great majority of the people, without exception, have adopted the ideas of the revolution. They defended it and participated in it.

I want to repeat, we still have to remove people who are compromised, who have committed violations and so forth, but this is a process that cannot be solved in a short period of time.

The fact has to be noted that this meeting, this interview, is being held with no restrictions.

[Television interviewer] In connection with our desire, what can you tell us, what measures are being taken so that everything will return to normal again?

[Ghitac] I have to elaborate on something. Immediately after gaining power, in the process of setting up the county and town councils of the National Salvation Front, as we know, the police participated in the fighting. This period also corresponded with the great terrorist attacks which were launched by groups trained in advance by Ceausescu.

After rather heavy fighting, especially in Bucharest where large and numerous groups acted, which had sophisticated weapons, weapons equipped with night vision devices, telescopic sights, they even had incendiary devices, they were even supported by light armored cars, which were hidden. [sentence as heard]

[Television interviewer] Do we still have to be afraid?—This is a natural question.

[Ghitac] I have to answer this question with a certain reserve. In his interview last night, which I listened to, Mr Brucan made a very complete general analysis of the situation.

We from the Ministry of Interior fully share his consideration.

The terrorist groups no longer have the potential to unleash such a new war and such large-scale terrorist actions, they lack the potential. A large part has been caught. Some surrendered. However, we have no guarantee that there are none left. But those who still exist are isolated elements; probably those fanatic elements, which still might create problems.

I am convinced that they will not be able to create problems for the population. They probably pursue isolated targets, so to speak, but the police and all law enforcing bodies will take the necessary measures to protect the people. Civilians should no longer be afraid, but we, those in the Ministry of Interior, should stay vigilant, on alert, in order to guarantee that the population can go about their affairs and can live and work in peace.

NSF Communique on Uninterrupted Production

AU3012114689 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 0947 GMT 30 Dec 89

[Communique issued by Prime Minister Petre Roman in Bucharest; date not given—read by announcer]

[Text] In connection with 31 December 1989, 1 and 2 January 1990, [the New Year's holidays] the Council of the National Salvation Front asks that in units with uninterrupted production, process conditions be ensured, so that no damage is caused to equipment and installations, and therefore avoiding the disruption of the production process.

[signed] Prime Minister Petre Roman.

Brucan Visits Moscow; Soviet Support Expressed

LD0401023190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 3 Jan 89

[Text] Weeks before the outbreak of the Romanian revolution, the Soviet leaders had expressed support for the removal of Ceausescu from power. This was said by one of the leaders of the Romanian National Salvation Front, Silviu Brucan. In an interview with a British television station, he said that during his visit to Moscow in November he received—as he put it—a cautious promise of support from the Soviet leaders.

At the same time Brucan reaffirmed that the uprising had not been prepared in advance and the revolution was well underway by the time of the first session of the leaders of the National Salvation Front was held.

Further on Moscow Visit

PM0401101990 London ITV Television Network in English 1900 GMT 3 Jan 90

[Interview with Silviu Brucan, member of the Council of the National Salvation Front, by correspondent Gaby Rado in Bucharest; from the channel 4 news program; date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Rado] Of all the people newly installed in Bucharest's still heavily guarded Foreign Ministry, the one who's taken more risks than anyone else is Silviu Brucan. He served as ambassador to first, Washington, then the UN, before falling out with Ceausescu. In the spring of last year, he and five other elder statesmen wrote an open critical letter to the dictator, and in November, as he today revealed, he visited Moscow. In Moscow, can you tell me who you saw and whether you got any assurances about the Soviet Union's support in a case of Ceausescu's downfall?

[Brucan] I couldn't say that, that it was a... It was a promise of support but a very reluctant one because there was already in force in Moscow the new thinking, the new policy of noninterference, particularly in the affairs of East European countries. So they were very reluctant to make public my contacts, and I had to swear that I won't reveal them. But now I can say I didn't keep my promise.

[Rado] Did your meetings go to the very top? Did you see Mr Gorbachev?

[Brucan] No, sir.

[Rado] Even with such tacit support from Moscow, the revolution itself was, according to Silviu Brucan, quite unplanned. He, therefore, quite firmly put an end to speculation that a rebel leadership had been preparing in secret for months before Ceausescu's overthrow.

[Brucan] The truth is that the mass explosion that took place Friday, December 22d, in Bucharest was 100 percent spontaneous without a political leadership, and it was only on that evening that the leadership of the National Salvation Front could for the first time meet during the attack on the Central Committee Building, and their first meeting took place in the balcony of the Central Committee the evening of the 22d, Friday.

[Rado] Mr Brucan revealed there were those in the new leadership who had argued against the hasty trial and execution of Ceausescu and his wife, but he insisted it was tactically necessary. However, he said, the remaining 60-odd members of the Ceausescu clan and the old Politburo now imprisoned would get fair trials. Won't it be rather difficult to show the world that these people will be getting a fair trial? They will be, after all, tried for political offenses.

[Brucan] The range of crimes committed by them... uh... are not essentially political. They either participated in sheer acts of repression, like one of them who is called "Dinca," who used to go with a revolver and shoot people, or cases of gross embezzlement.

[Rado] An active member of the National Salvation Front, Mr Brucan admits to a lack of political experience amongst his leadership. Though it won't call itself a party, he says the Front will contest the elections vigorously.

[Brucan] I consider that we have two big assets in those elections: the first one is that we have led the revolution successfully; and the other one that with regard to the most urgent needs of the population at large, we have obtained some improvements. There is more food, there is more heating, there is more electricity and light, there is better transportation, and there is better medical assistance. These five points constitute our ideology.

French Assembly Member Fabius Expresses Support

AU0301191890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1836 GMT 3 Jan 90

["Laurent Fabius' News Conference"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 3/01/1990—"France was and will always be on the side of free Romania, :"stated Laurent Fabius, president of the National Assembly of France, while answering the questons put by Romanian and foreign journalists at a news conference held on 3 January. Referring to the relations with Romania, Laurent Fabius said in his opinion the key word was "cooperation" and it would be necessary in the spheres of technology, finance, education, culture and the arts.

Accompanying the French dignitary at the news conference were Michel Vauzelle, chairman of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the National Assembly of France, and Jean Marie le Breton, France's ambassador to Bucharest.

More on France's Role

AU0401094890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2102 GMT 4 Jan 90

["Laurent Fabius: France Is and Will Be by the Side of Free Romania"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 3/1/1990—We are here in a mission of solidarity with the Romanian people, stated the president of the National Assembly of France, Laurent Fabius, at a press conference held in Bucharest on 3 January. Back home we will tell everything we saw and inform about the result of our meetings with Romanian officials, to decide on the support the French side gives and will give free Romania.

Thanking the leadership of the Council of the National Salvation Front, the other Romanian representatives who kindly and warmly welcomed him in Bucharest, Mr. Fabius specified that he would continue his visit to the martyr town of Timisoara. We all experience a deep emotion and joy at Romania's great triumph which is, at last, free and democratic. The developments occurred in Romania last week were received with emotion in France, being followed with great interest. The question arises: why do we the French feel like this? Because France, by tradition detests injustice, because France could not accept the dictatorial regime in Romania, Ceausescu's regime. When an end was put to that dictatorship, the whole of France felt an immense joy, but also a deep sorrow for the victims of Ceausescu's dictatorship. Which explains the solidarity of all the French people.

What struck me during my short visit to Romania was the phrase "we are free," which expresses the feeling of freedom which we have known for decades and which I have once again experienced here in Romania. However, we must not ignore the fact that problems crop up. The country must be reconstructed and opened to the world to allow its democratization, the recovery of the economy and the ensurance of the security and peace of the Romanian people.

I was struck by the place and role of the youth in the revolution. It was a revolution of the youth. I think that one of the greatest charges against the old regime can be that of the divorce between the youth and society.

Highlighting the fact that the French and the Romanians were linked by a common culture, by an exceptional friendship, the president of the National Assembly of France showed that there were many domains in which France wanted to help Romania. Our visit was an opportunity to survey these domains of the Romanian-French cooperation, he said.

Answering the questions of Romanian and foreign journalists, Mr. Lorent Fabius said that in the context of the new geography of Europe, France and Romania can cooperate better. Romania is in a difficult economic situation, he specified, owing to the disastrous policy of the old regime, and from this point of view you will be helped by your French friends, just as from the point of view of technology, instruction and culture, domains in which the technological one in particular France ranks among the first countries of the world. Culture and the learning system are domains of equal importance for the bilateral cooperation. An openness should be achieved in culture, the French guest also stressed, specifying that the Romanians need new books, newspapers, printing houses, mass media equipment, that interchanges of experts, of students are necessary. A lot of things can be done within this mutual cooperation, the French politician concluded.

FRG's Genscher Accepts Invitation To Visit

AU0301131690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1259 GMT 3 Jan 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 3/1/1990—In the name of the Romanian Government, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Sergiu Celac, invited Hans Dietrich Genscher, vice-chancellor and minister of foreign affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany, to pay an official visit to Romania.

The invitation was accepted and the visit scheduled for the first half of January.

Polish Foreign Minister's Statement Reported

AU2912195589 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0943 GMT 29 Dec 89

["Statement of the Polish Foreign Affairs Minister"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 29/12/1989—The Polish Foreign Affairs Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski issued a statement showing: "On the change of political power in Romania, the Foreign Affairs Ministry makes the point that it has had a normal relationship concerning the whole spectrum of governmental problems with the National Salvation Front ever since it was created, which means the recognition of the National Salvation Front as the only organ that can represent Romania".

Leaders Address Issue of Hungarian Relations

LD2912203789 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1830 GMT 29 Dec 89

[Report on statements by Romanian leaders Ion Iliescu, Dumiteu Mazilu, Petre Roman, and Karoly Kiraly; date and place not given—recordings in Romanian, fading into superimposed Hungarian translation]

[Text] Reporters from the Newsreel in Bucharest have managed to meet several members of the new Romanian leadership. Attila Vari has made the following interviews:

[Begin recording] [Vari] How do you evaluate your talks with Gyula Horn?

[Ion Iliescu] I evaluate the talks as positive. We repeated at the negotiations that the new Romanian leadership appreciates the solidarity of the Hungarian Government, which was manifested from the first moment of the uprising. For us, this is indicated by the present high-ranking delegation. We are satisfied with the spirit and content of the talks.

We established that the objective conditions for understanding, freindship and cooperation between our countries, to be complete, do exist. The old system artificially fueled the tension between our countries. We are ready to make these relations harmonic as soon as possible.

So, we established that our revolution has resulted in a revolution in relations between Hungary and Romania.

[Dumiteu Mazilu] Romania wants to open up to the world, and we have received a great deal of help for this position from Hungary. Budapest signifies an important example for us in East Europe. We respect the Hungrian people for their exemplary behavior and courage, and we promise that we will endeavor to achieve the kind of friendly relations needed between the two countries. We would like nothing to cast a shadow on this. We are endeavoring for openness. We want every Hungarian and every Romanian to be able to travel freely to the other's country. Only in this way can the new Europe of freedom and dignity be constructed.

[Vari] Will the people of Magyar nationality in Romania have a role in bilateral relations?

[Petre Roman] Undoubtedly! We have already reviewed the kinds of concessions we will introduce for our citizens, and we hope our ideas will shortly be realized.

[Karoly Kiraly] I am convinced the human rights will change radically. There can be no question of what existed before remaining, since in the revolution which took place, the Romanians, the Magyars, the Germans, and the other nationalities fought together, and this was a struggle which undoubtedly will (?facilitate) a full and just solution, an improvement of the nationality issue. [end recording]

Turkish Ambassador Speaks on Romanian Television

AU2912170789 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2216 GMT 28 Dec 89

["Declaration by Ambassador of Turkey to the Free Romanian Television"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 29/12/1989—Esteemed Romanian Friends: it is a matter of great pleasure and honour for me in my capacity as the ambassador of the Republic of Turkey to address the friendly and heroic people of Romania on this historic occasion.

It is also a source of deep satisfaction for me to thank warmly to the Free Romanian Television authority for giving me this singular opportunity. It is an established fact that the Romanian Television has accomplished an historic mission by immensly contributing to the success of the Romanian people's historic action.

Turkish and Romanian peoples have deep-rooted friendly ties. Turkey considers Romania as a neighbouring country despite the fact that we have no common borders.

Turkey has expressed solidarity with the Romanian people's popular action against the Ceausescu regime from the very beginning. My government, soon after the establishment of the Council of the National Salvation Front, has declared that it officially addresses itself to the new administration in Romania in the conduct of Turkish-Romanian relations.

Turkey is proud of the being able to immediately extend the hand of friendship to the Romanian people by dispatching 20 tons of humanitarian aid material, composed of blood, medicine and medical equipment. All these aid material was delivered to the Romanian Red Cross authorities by the Turkish Red Crescent officials yesterday in Bucharest.

It is the most sincere wish of the Turkish people as well as that of its government that internal peace and stability be achieved in Romania without further bloodshed. Turkey welcomes the outstanding efforts and achievements of the Council of National Salvation Front to that end in a very short period of time.

Turkey is ready to extend all possible support to the friendly Romanian people and engage with its government in cooperation in all fields in their development efforts.

Turkey welcomes and appreciates the choice of the Romanian people for a free and democratic way of life based on respect to human rights.

Last but not least, may I express my heartfelt thanks and gratitude to the Romanian authorities in general and the administration and medical staff of the Marinescu Hospital for the utmost care and competent treatment they have rendered to the Turkish radio television reporter

Mr. Emre Aygen who was shot in the head and seriously wounded by the terorists early morning of the 25th of December.

May I conclude by saying "Long live Turkish-Romanian friendship".

Thank you very much.

Iliescu Congratulates Havel on Election

AU2912181789 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1631 GMT 29 Dec 89

["Congratulatory Telegram"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 29/12/1989—The president of the National Salvation Front Council of Romania, Ion Iliescu, sent telegram to Mr. Vaclav Havel, congratulating him on his having been elected to the office of President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic on behalf of the Council and on his own behalf.

The Romanian people, the telegram reads, are highly appreciative of the Czechoslovak people's solidarity with and support to its just fight to abolish the repulsive dictatorship and lay the foundations of a free and democratic society in Romania.

Believing that the friendship and collaboration between our two countries and peoples will further develop productively, I wish the Czechoslovak people great success on the road of renewing changes in your country, the telegram reads.

Roman, al-Qadhdhafi Hold Telephone Conversation

AU3012150489 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1035 GMT 30 Dec 89

["Petre Roman and Mu'ammar al-Quadhdhafi Talk on the Phone"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 30/12/1989—On 28 December, during a talk on the phone with Prime Minister Petre Roman, Col. Mu:ammar al-Qadhdhafi, the leader of the Great 1 September Revolution of the Great Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah, conveyed the President of the Council of the National Salvation Front Ion Iliescu warm congratulations for the victory of the Romanian people's revolution as well as his regret for the loss of human lives.

The wish was expressed that the friendship and cooperation between the two countries would continue in future as well. In these difficult moments Libya sent medicines and medical equipment.

Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi showed as completely groundless the rumours regarding a Libyan interference in Romania's internal affairs and said that he sent a message to the Romanian people.

The Romanian prime minister expressed satisfaction at the words of sympathy and encouragement stressing that the rumours regarding a possible interference did not gain ground in Romania, being obvious that they were disseminated to destabilize the popular revolution in Romania and compromise the friendly Romanian-Libyan ties.

UNESCO, Others To Provide Humanitarian Aid

AU3012192389 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1232 GMT 30 Dec 89

["Humanitarian Aids for Romania"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 30/12/1989—Mentioning that it follows attentively the course of events in Romania, UNESCO has given president Ion Iliescu of the Council of the National Salvation Front, assurances that the UN Specialized Agency is at the Romanian Government's disposal to collaborate in the national efforts for recovery in education, science and culture as well as in communications. The UNESCO—a telegram signed by Director General Eduardo Portella shows—is ready to send, as soon as possible, a team of experts in various domains, to assess the most urgent needs.

The Japanese foreign minister, Taro Nakayama, has announced that his country is ready to give Romania, along with medical aid, also direct economic assistance for its essential needs.

The chairman of the EEC board, Jacques Delors, showed in a declaration that the 12 are ready to help Romania so as to be able to meet the citizens' immediate requirements and help the subsequent modernization of the economy.

The U.S. has sent to Romania aids consisting of medical outfit and medicines worth 250,000 dollars, which adds to the 500,000 dollars the American Government will grant to the International Committee of the Red Cross to assist Romania and 25,000 dollars which the US Embassy in Bucharest has already used for immediate assistance.

It was announced at the headquarters in Geneva of the International Committee of the Red Cross that aids worth 20 million marks were dispatched to Romania.

The Finnish Government has decided to give Romania financial aid worth three million marks after having previously transferred a similar amount of money to the same and to the Red Cross society.

Humanitarian aid meant for Romania has been announced these last few days also by the Federal Government of Australia, the Principality of Monaco, the Red Cross Society of South Korea, the Swiss Government, etc.

Mrs Maria Pia Fanfani, wife of former Italian Premier Amintore Fanfani, president of the Italian Red Cross Society, has arrived in Bucharest as early as December 26 with two planes loaded with aid consisting of medicines, food, clothes for the afflicted people.

Likewise, planes, trains of cars with aid keep arriving in Romania. They carry medicines, food, clothes, toys sent from Czechoslovakia, Poland, Britain, Switzerland, France, the USSR, Bulgaria, etc.

More on Humanitarian Aid

AU0301153790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1105 GMT 3 Jan 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 3/1/1990—A special TIR [International Road Transit] truck arrived in Craiova (southern Romania) on Tuesday that brought the population there clothing, blankets, medicines and other products was sent by the Red Cross Society of the Netherlands. The 1,500 packages donated by many families from Oss, Brabant region, were put at the disposal of the Dolj County Council of the National Salvation Front.

A team of surgeons and anesthetists headed by Hiroshi Higashiura, director of the Research and Planning Department under the Red Cross Society of Japan, arrived in Craiova on Tuesday, too, to give emergency assistance to the wounded after the confrontations with the groups of terrorists.

Humanitarian aid consisting of 32 tonnes of food, especially for children, arrived at the International Otopeni Airport from the Libyan Government. The new freight adds to a previous one which contained medicines and medical instruments worth over one half million dollars.

As a sign of solidarity with the Romanian people, Morocco also sent two airplanes with products for those who suffered during the revolution. The Moroccan ambassador to Bucharest underlined in a televised statement that new prospects are opened to the Moroccan-Romanian collaboration in the conditions of democracy and freedom.

The president of the Republic of Peru, Alan Garcia Perez, expressed the Peruvian people's solidarity and appreciation for the heavily tried Romanian people in a telegram he sent to the president of the National Salvation Front Council, Ion Iliescu.

Former Political Prisoners To Demand Reparation

AU0401120890 Paris AFP in English 1151 GMT 4 Jan 90

[Text] Bucharest, Jan 4 (AFP)—Romania's former political prisoners have formed an association to seek reparation for their sufferings, ex-prisoner Dumitru Niculescu, told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE on Thursday.

He said the assocation's main objective was to obtain compensation for all political prisoners since 1945 and for jail sentences to be taken into account when calculating pensions.

Mr. Niculescu, a member of the National Liberal Party, said these demands figured in his party's platform.

Mass arrests began in 1946. There were more than 100,000 arrests between that year and 1964, when the first secretary of the Romanian Communist Party Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej distanced himself from Moscow, said Mr. Niculescu, who was detained between 1948 and 1952.

The former leader of the National Liberal Party Dinu Bratianu and the leader of the National Peasants' Party Iuliu Maniu were both arrested in 1946 and died in prison.

Under Nicolae Ceausescu, who came to power in 1965, arrests resumed in 1971. Their exact number was not known. Most of them were of men who had attempted in one way or another to oppose the dictator's policies, Mr. Niculescu said.

Mr. Niculescu worked for more than a year on the building of the canal from the Danube to the Black Sea, which cost the lives of hundreds of prisoners. The canal, started in 1950 under Gheorghiu-Dej but was not completed until 1985 under Ceausescu, and it has never been used.

"It is one of the useless projects of the old communist regime," Mr. Niculescu said.

Bishop Justifies Support of Ceausescu Regime

AU0401124490 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 4 Jan 90 p 2

[Report by Fritz Kimeswenger: "Church: 'Our Survival Was at Stake'"]

[Excerpt] "Our survival was at stake" Albert Klein, Evangelical bishop of Transylvania, says in an interview with DER STANDARD in Sibiu (Hermannstadt), justifying the attitude of the church during Ceausescu's era. Klein does not deny that the Evangelical church had made an arrangement with the regime in order to create leeway for survival. "With this we established our possibilities to work in the parishes to a limited degree."

Through the state's contribution to the salaries of the pastors, the Romanian state acquired financial sovereignty over the entire church finances. No meeting of the church leadership took place without a party representative or a representative of Securitate from Bucharest. Bishop Klein: "We had to accept it; in the course of time it worked out. We are not very happy with ourselves." The clergyman hopes, however, that the future will be more positive. In particular "the solidarity of rejection" against the regime has ensured the survival of the church in Romania.

Criticism of the church comes, among others, from rural pastors, whom DER STANDARD visited during the trip through Transylvania. One of the critics is Adam Faugel in the small village of Cincu.

Bishops Were "Bootlickers"

He accuses the bishops of having been bootlickers, as he says, and of having pursued the hailing of Ceausescu in the form that was usual among everybody. Father Faugel does not see the situation in a positive way.

Concerning the conditions in rural areas, the pators's wife says that there is nothing worse than having money and not being able to buy anything. This is expressed not only in a gross lack of staple food but also in small things—which seem unimportant at first sight—such as batteries for hearing aids, which are simply unavailable.

The people in Transylvania still live in fear. The reason for this is, among others, fliers in which the Securitate members threaten people with the following words: "Christmas belonged to you, the New Year belongs to us." There are rumors that thousands—the figure ranges from 5,000 to 20,000—Securitate members are preparing for a decisive battle in the Carpatian mountains and will try once more to change the situation for their benefit. [passage omitted]

Medical Bulletin on Corneliu Bogdan's Death

AU0401085490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1939 GMT 3 Jan 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 3/1/1990—A medical bulletin signed by reader Dan Setlacec M.D., reader Ile Pavelescu M.D. Mihail Carstea, M.D., Vasile Savulescu, M.D., Stefan Dumitrescu, M.D., shows that Mr Corneliu Bogdan, 68, minister secretary of state in the Foreign Ministry, died in the evening of January 1, 1990 at the Elias Hospital in Bucharest where he had been admitted in a state of collapse, with ruptured abdominal aortic aneurysm and giant retroperitoneal hematoma.

Despite emergency surgery and complex intensive care the patient died of irreverseble cardiac arrest at 21:35 hours.

State Secretary Corneliu Bogdan's Obituary

AU0301213990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1845 GMT 3 Jan 90

["Obituary" -ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 03/01/1990—It is with deep regret that the Council of the National Salvation Front and the Government of Romania announce the death, on 1 January, of Corneliu Bogdan, minister secretary of state at the Foreign Affairs Ministry and cabinet member.

Born in Bucharest in 1921, he graduated from Bucharest's Institute of International Relations and embarked on a diplomatic career at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, both at home and abroad.

A diplomat by vocation, Corneliu Bogdan held various posts over the years rising to the position of director and eventually serving as Romania's ambassador to the U.S.A. from 1967 to 1976, in which capacity he brilliantly fulfilled his tasks. Back home he resumed his work at the Foreign Affairs Ministry as director until the end of 1982 when he was retired.

A man of vast experience in international relations, Corneliu Bogdan put his talent, capacity and competence in the service of Romanian diplomacy and devotedly served the interests of Romania and of the Romanian people.

Corneliu Bogdan was a researcher and associate professor of international law and foreign relations, and wrote alone or jointly with other scholars reference books and analytic studies of major international questions.

When the national popular revolution for the overthrow of Ceausescu's dictatorship broke out in December 1989 Corneliu Bogdan generously and unreservedly put his energy and capacity in the service of the Romanian nation's true ideals and interests in fulfilment of his life-long democratic creed, being on the side of all people who realized what the imperatives of the revolution were.

All people who knew and loved Corneliu Bogdan pay a deep tribute to him and convey condolences and compassion to the bereaved family.

Report on Details of Underground Tunnel System

AU0301145090 Paris AFP in English 1423 GMT 3 Jan 89

[By Jean-Anne Chalet]

[Text] Bucharest, Jan 3 (AFP)—Romania's late dictator Nicolae Ceausescu ordered a 2.5-kilometer (1.5-mile) tunnel system to be built enabling him to drive from central Bucharest to his outsize palace on the outskirts of the city, an engineer who took part in the planning said Wednesday.

Tunnel sections were constructed by various companies so as to ensure secrecy, Dan Stonescu told Agence France-Presse.

Works on the tubular tunnel system with a width of three meters (10 feet) were coordinated by a general whom Mr. Stonescu would not identify for reasons of state security.

Tunnel officials refused to meet with the AFP correspondent for the same reason.

The secret tunnel system was linked to the Polytechnic and Isvor (Source) underground stations. Isvor is only 400 meters (yards) from the former Ceausescu residence.

Mr. Ceausescu had a nuclear bomb shelter built in the palace, the engineer said, adding that all underground stations in Bucharest were designed to serve as fallout shelters in the case of a nuclear attack.

Underground shelters were also at the disposal of the Securitate secret police and former state officials in the cities of Sibiu and Brasov and have been rumoured to exist in the Carpathian mountains.

Former Securitate agents were still in hiding in some of those shelters, according to unconfirmed reports.

An underground military base for jet planes also existed at Botesi, near here, according to another engineer who asked not to be named.

In another development, General Vasile Ionel, Army chief-of-staff and deputy defence minister, rejected reports that foreign mercenaries fought alongside Mr. Ceausescu's troops in a bid to quell the uprising.

Vessels riding at anchor in the Black Sea port of Constanza and off the Romanian coast have been reported to serve as logistic bases for the mercenaries and were to repatriate them.

General Ionel said he did not know of any such vessels but ships with foreign aid were expected in Constanta shortly.

Foreign Debt Repayment Plan Revealed

AU0401092490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1911 GMT 3 Jan 90

["That Is How Romania's Foreign Debt Has Been Paid Off"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 03/01/1990—In his propagandistic race of scoring "historic achievements," dictator Nicolae Ceausescu ordered that the foreign debt be paid off as of 31 March 1989 with all Romania's gold reserves. To this end roughly 80 tonnes of gold, painfully acquired by the Romanian people in the past 70 years, were sent abroad, stated Marin Stelian, deputy director at the National Bank of Romania, who also said that on 31 Decemoer 1981 the country's foreign debt stood at 10,159,600,000 dollars on which 1.2 billion dollars were paid as interest in 1982 alone. Most of the debt resulted from the imports of crude and fodder and not of advanced technologies as it was officially assessed. Huge sums were lost through the ratio between the cost of one tonne of imported crude and one tonne of exported oil products.

Adding to all this is the fact that the dictator refused, for obscure reasons, specialists' offers to buy the foreign debt, through intermediate banks, at lower prices, which would have reduced by hundreds upon hundreds of millions dollars the payments for the service of the foreign debt.

Deputy Defense Minister Lists Uprising Casualties

LD0301192490 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 3 Jan 90

[Excerpt] In Romania, the units of the Securitate have been disarmed, and hearings are being carried out with the armed members of the organization who have been rendered harmless. This was stated by the Hungarian Defense Ministry, referring to First Deputy Minister of National Defense Vasile Ionel. According to the estimate of the colonel general, a few thousand Securitate members died, but the Army still does not know precisely who belonged to the ex-Securitate units. The forces loyal to Ceausescu also used special anti-terrorist squads in support of the Securitate.

The deputy minister denied that foreign mercenaries had taken part in the battles, and also considered it untrue that foreign ships anchored in the Black Sea had ensured reinforcements for the troops loyal to the ex-Romanian leader. Ionel said that almost 200 soldiers from the Army had lost their lives, and 450 had been injured. For the moment, no precise figures are known in Romania regarding civilian victims, but the deputy defense minister said that several tens of thousands must have died in the battles. [passage omitted]

Mission of ADEVARUL Editorial Staff

AU0301165990 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 25 Dec 89 p 1

[Editorial: "At the Beginning of the Road"]

[Text] The time for truth has come. We are going through days of revolutionary renewal. Through the will of the people, the dictatorship has been removed. Romania has become truly free, as our predecessors dreamed of and as all the people wanted.

In step with these transformations, the journalists of our editorial collective, who from the very beginning of the revolution became the spokesmen of the people's desire, will give publicity to the deeds of elevating heroism in order to defend freedom, dignity, and national values expressed in a new publication: ADEVARUL.

It is the name of this political and social daily that continues the activity carried out during these heroic days by SCINTEIA POPORULUI.

The editorial collective of daily ADEVARUL adheres to the general program of the National Salvation Front.

We assume the great responsibility of being a paper of the people, a rostrum of all the country's citizens of all social categories and convictions in consensus with the option expressed by the program of the National Salvation Front regarding the establishment of a pluralist democratic government system.

This is our professional mission, which we want to honor by living up to the time of truth which is being experienced by the whole nation and the whole country.

We propose to bring out a paper that is open to all advanced ideas and to all opinions that may contribute to our country's development and to its progress. We propose to publish a paper that will express the truth and nothing but the truth. We want to publish a paper that will meet the requirements of building a state ruled by law and a democratic and prosperous society.

ADEVARUL is open to national dialogue on all issues regarding Romania's destiny.

Vienna Mission Recruited Arab Mercenaries

AU2712202889 Paris AFP in English 2017 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Excerpts] Vienna, Dec 27 (AFP)—Romania's trade mission here was a recruitment centre for "Arab mercenaries" who joined the secret police of executed dictator Nicolae Ceausescu, a Vienna newspaper said in a report appearing Thursday.

The report in the mass-circulation KURIER daily follows a spate of unconfirmed reports that Arab gunmen fought alongside Securitate men who killed thousands of pro-democracy demonstrators during the Romanian uprising that toppled Ceausescu.

The reports have been denied by Palestine Liberation Organisation leader Yasir 'Arafat, Libyan leader Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi and other Arab leaders.

Mr. 'Arafat and Colonel al-Qadhdhafi blamed Israel for what they said was an anti-Arab campaign by the Voice of America radio station and Hungarian media, which also carried the reports of Arab involvement.

On Tuesday a Greek student who was in Bucharest during the uprising told Greek television in Athens that Arab gunmen had joined Securitate snipers and mowed down hundreds of young people in the Romanian capital. [passage omitted]

Kurier said the alleged recruitment centre here was headed by Marin Ceausescu, a brother of the executed dictator, who was Romania's commercial attache in Vienna until his disappearance. [passage omitted]

Efforts To Ensure Electricity for Population

AU2812175089 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1642 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 28/12/1989—On these days of hard trial for the Romanian people, the power engineering workers make great efforts to supply the economic units and the population with electricity and thermal power. Special commands have taken steps to constantly supply, on the basis of timetables, the electric power plants working on coal and hydrocarbons, for meeting their requirements of necessary spare parts, as well as for maintaining the high-voltage lines. Power sets of the static reserve have also been created. They are ready to start operation at any time. The amount of electricity generated by coal has grown in the last days by 300-400 MW, and the hydrocarbon-fuelled power plants generate by 800-1000 MW more. Consequently, the electricity supply has not been stopped even for a moment these last few days.

The relevant ministry has also announced the abolition of the sacrifice programs for the village people. It is also mentioned that the supply of electricity imported from the USSR has been run perfectly all these days.

The ministry staff thank the friendly countries for their offers of aid in this vital domain for the Romanian people.

Proposal To Amend Price of Electricity

AU2812170089 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1521 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 28/12/1989—Bucharest's Industrial Department for Electric Networks have proposed to change the price of electricity payable by the population by linking it to production costs. Essentially, the proposals make provision for a one and only price of 0.65 kw-hr and for a higher quota for the population.

An anticonstitutional electricity quota and pay system had been decreed by the dictator which discriminated between town and village.

Ceausescu Reportedly Ignored Human Rights Issues

AU2812180789 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1515 GMT 28 Dec 89

["The Heavy Damage of Romania's Self-Isolation on an International Plane"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 28/12/1989—The will to assert the individual and human personality was altogether ignored and even excluded by the foreign and home policy promoted by Ceausescu's clan and allies, an article under the above headline in 28 December ADEVARUL writes, showing inter alia: resorting to a generous principle of international law—that is, interference in domestic affairs which served him as a pretext, he compelled the Romanian diplomats to uphold that there were no human rights problems in Romania and take any talk on the subject as interference in the country's domestic affairs. As human rights violations increased and the dictator's policy acquired ever more dramatic forms, the respective topic turned into a taboo not only at home but also in international meetings and conferences. As a matter of fact, the dictator, in his obsession with the topic, said too many concessions had been made to Western countries vis-a-vis human rights at the conference on security and cooperation in Europe in Helsinki.

Therefore, with the passage of time, he was no longer willing to make any concessions. The way it hapenned at the expert meetings on human rights in Ottawa and Bern, which followed the all-European meeting in Madrid, and, especially, at the latest all-European meeting in Vienna, where the dictator's inhuman policy was severly criticized and the Romanian delegation's mandate, given by Ceausescu, was not to subscribe to the human rights provisions contained in the final document. Later on, the dictator's obstructive policy virtually blocked the whole CSCE process, leading to the fruitless conclusion of meetings the last one on ecologic issues in Sofia. It was not accidental that recently the representatives of numerous CSCE participating states looked for solutions to drive Romania out of that process.

Upon a decision made by the dictator, too, Romania's fees to a number of international organizations, such as UNESCO , IAEA, who, ILO and others were no longer paid, so that Romania's representatives no longer enjoyed the right to vote and take part in decision-making in the respective organizations. Upon like repulsive decisions Romania paid its dues to the UN with considerable delay.

AGERPRES on Journalists, Translators

AU2812230189 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1915 GMT 28 Dec 89

["Motion"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 28/12/1989—The Provisional Committee of the National Salvation Front in the Romanian News Agency-AGERPRES, set up these days, adopted a motion whereby, on behalf of the journalists, translators, technicians, telex operators and printers, commit themselves to fulfilling the heroic Romanian people's will every moment of their life and work. We shall do this by objectively, extensively and operatively informing people, and equally observing the whole range of political options, positions and viewpoints, the motion shows, also writing: Over this period of deep-going, fast and happy changes, owing to the measures taken for the recovery of the Romanian sociopolitical and economic life, the decision of the National Salvation Front Council regarding the separation of state activities from the political ones paves the way for a normal work in our agency, for an extensive, unrestricted, objective and complete information of public opinion in Romania and abroad.

Free Youth Organization Drafts Action Program

AU2912200389 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1420 GMT 29 Dec 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 29/12/1989— The Free Youth of Romania—a recently created organization—has announced its draft programme of action. Asserting itself as a front of the youth throughout the country, irrespective of social category, ethnicity, religious belief, the Free Youth of Romania is independent in character and pursues the representation and safeguarding of the interests and aspirations of the young people in relation to Romania's leadership.

To this end all youths are called upon to work for the normalization of the entire economic and social life, for the removal of all forms of dogmatism and bureaucracy, favoritism and nepotism from all areas, ensure the observance of the country's laws and legality, fight against terrorism, support freedom of speech, of travelling abroad.

Cioran, Ionescu Made Members of Writers Union

AU3112071489 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1734 GMT 30 Dec 89

["E.M. Cioran and Eugene Ionescu Honorary Members of the Writers' Union of Romania"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 30/12/1989—The philosopher Emil Mihai Cioran and the playwright Eugene Ionescu, both French citizens of Romanian descent, were elected honorary members of the Writers' Union of Romania, said poet Mircea Dinescu in a televised interview on 29 December.

Long banned in Romania (the former always labelled as a "reactionary" until in 1988 Modest Morariu, overcoming one obstacle after another, managed to send an anthology of essays to Bucharest's Cartea Romaneasca publishing house, the latter, after a brief spell of openness, was banned from stage), the two great representatives of the Romanian spirit have been given the place they deserve.

Foreign Journalists Assess Revolution

AU3112070089 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1836 GMT 30 dec 89

["Foreigners on the Romanian Revolution"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 30/12/1989—"For the first time in the East, you Romanians have turned a traditional demonstration strictly planned by Stalinist methods from a to z into a counter-demonstration. It has never happened before: it is a world first for the Communist empire. It proves that the revolt ran deep and that the wrath was tremendous," said the French philosopher Andre Glucksmann in an interview with the "ROMANIA LITERARA" review.

"No society can live with lies. Lies breed monsters like Ceausescu. No one since Stalin's death has been more despotic, and his methods were sometimes even more cruel and perfidious than the Nazi's. Ceausescu was an insult to the continent. I knew he would suffer an historic punishment. Now, your people's political culture should be revived. You open the door to a free society, this is the most beautiful thing that can ever happen to a people. Romania enjoys the admiration of the world, the Spanish journalist Hermann Tertsch now in Bucharest told the daily "ROMANIA LIBERA". (An East European expert of Madrid's large-circulation "EL PAIS," Hermann Tertsch, known in his country as the no. 1 enemy of the Ceausescu regime, has written more than two hundred articles denouncing the abuses, lies and crimes of the Bucharest despot. His first three articles published in 1984 were enough to deny him a visa in Romania.

Orthodox Patriarchy's Data on Destroyed Churches

AU3012221089 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1833 GMT 30 Dec 89

["Churches Destroyed Under Ceausescu's Dictatorship"—AGERPRES headline]

[Excerpt] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 30/12/1989—The Romanian Orthodox Patriarchy supplied some data on the losses suffered by the Orthodox Church during Ceausescu's dictatorship. Since 1977, 22 churches have been demolished like the Vacaresti Monastery, the Cotroceni, Pantelimon and St. Vineri Churches, each of them monuments of culture, history and art. Another seven churches like Cretulescu, Coltea, St. Gheorghe were closed and seven churches (Schitul Maicilor, Mihai Voda, St. Ilie-Rahova,etc.) were moved and disadvantageously sited, also closed to religious services. [passage omitted]

Exiled Union Seeks Noncommunist State

PM0301155790 London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic 31 Dec 90 p 5

[Report on interview with Nicolae Ratiu, deputy chairman of the Union of Free Romanians, by Huda al-Husayni—date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [Introductory passage omitted] Nicolae Ratiu began his interview with AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT by outlining the Friday [not further specified] incidents. He said that the security men (Securitate) continue to regroup and launch nightly attacks. They have divided themselves into snipers and attackers operating from the roofs of buildings.

[Al-Husayni] Is it true that they are two million strong?

[Ratiu] I do not think that the Communist Party membership is as high as two million...

[Al-Husayni] It is said that the number of President Ceausescu's secret police...

[Ratiu] I do not think so. However, nothing about the former regime will surprise us, since it is said that one in four people is an informer. And since there is a population of 23 million inhabitants, it follows that the number of informers is 6 million!

[Al-Husayni] What will happen to your organization "the Union of Free Romanians" if Romania becomes free and democratic?

[Ratiu] This question concerns the organization's chairman, Mr Ion Ratiu, since he intends to return to Romania in order to enter the elections or to publish a free newspaper in Romania. As far as the organization's members are concerned, our mission was to achieve a free and democratic Romania, and now Romania is more free than before, but the interim government, the National Salvation Front, is dominated by the Communists; 75 percent of its members are Communists. We regard the government as the Party for the Salvation of Communism. We want to see a democratic, not communist, country. Romania has never been communist by nature. [passage omitted]

[Al-Husayni] Do you want to be a party? Do you have followers in Romania?

[Ratiu] We have friends. As for our turning into a party, Chairman Ion Ratiu is affiliated with the National Peasant Party, and Doina Cornea, who belongs to our organization, is now a member of the government. She has announced the formation of the National Christian Peasant Party, which differs a little from the National Peasant Party, as we do not believe in religious discrimination.

[Al-Husayni] Some are concerned that the Securitate men will kill government members and control the country prior to the elections.

[Ratiu] That is certain. They are daily trying to assassinate government members, and the Army is still fighting. Some had thought the Securitate would surrender, but they are still fighting and resisting. They have the latest weapons. Their modern and complex training is much better than that of the Army. Many Army elements have spent the past years building Ceausescu's palace and digging underground tunnels. They have no sophisticated training, nor training in terrorist activities like the Securitate.

[Al-Husayni] Why did you accuse Arabs of fighting alongside the Securitate without providing any evidence?

[Ratiu] Who accused them?

[Al-Husayni] In Romania...

[Ratiu] It is known in Romania that the Securitate set up two camps to train terrorists from all over the world.

They included some Arabs, Koreans, and Irish. When the time came to benefit from their experience in military operations, it appeared that some of those who fought alongside the Securitate were from among those trained in the two camps. Unfortunately that did take place, and in the hospitals there are some wounded non-Romanians who are tied to their beds.

There was a camp in Sibiu where, people said, some Arabs were among those who received training. But we must be clear when we speak about Arab participation: We are speaking about a few individuals, not Arab states supporting the Securitate. [passage omitted]

[Al-Husayni] Will we ever see a 'greater Romania?'

[Ratiu] Romania is a rich country. Before the war not only was it self-sufficient in oil and agriculture, it even exported some of its products. The return to such a situation will obviously take years...

[Al-Husayni] I am asking you about greater Romania geographically, including Moldavia.

[Ratiu] Moldavia was separated from Romania under the Molotov agreement. And Moldavia is now demanding to return to Romania, especially as Romania is now more free than before—which will pose a problem, because President Gorbachev rejects that idea.

We would like Romania to return to its natural borders. Moldavia was always part of Romania. Romania was three parts, one of which was Moldavia.

[Al-Husayni] If Moldavia separates from the Soviet Union, would that constitute the beginning of the union's demise?

[Ratiu] Certainly Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev will not welcome that kind of change, but it will be difficult for him to prevent it; he will not be able to avoid it. [passage omitted]

[Al-Husayni] Were you in favor of the execution of Ceausescu and his wife?

[Ratiu] No. We consider it a mistake for an execution to be the first action of a democratic government. However, I do perhaps understand why they were executed. They said that the Securitate would stop fighting; but it seems that the execution has not affected them. I and our organization were in favor of his standing trial. Probably the remaining members of his family will be referred to the courts. [passage omitted]

NSF's Governing Position Evaluated

PM0401080090 Paris LE MONDE in French
2 Jan 90 pp 1,4

[Georges Marion dispatch: "Romania In Search of a Consensus"]

[Excerpts] Bucharest—It did not exist just 10 days ago. Today, the National Salvation Front [NSF] and, more especially, the Council of the NSF, its leadership body, reigns alone over Romania and its 23 million inhabitants. The leadership body has created produced branches. The Council of the NSF has had local councils elected in the provinces by an unspecified electorate and by a procedure which remains unknown. Some Romanians have justifiably been alarmed by this concentration of power in the hands of a body of some 150 self-appointed members which has even created within itself an Executive Bureau comprising 11 people whose names had not all been revealed on 31 December. These absolute powers, which are interlinked, are too reminiscent of the traditional organization of Communist parties, with their central committee and their politburo, for them to cause no anxiety.

But, aside from a few intellectuals, the majority of Romanians support this Front, its committees, and its Executive Bureau. They took to the streets in their tens of thousands. They ousted Ceausescu and his clique and, before they even buried their dead, they handed power to a group who had in common only the fact that they had participated alongside them in overthrowing the tyrant. Since then, whether confident or skeptical, they have waited, watching in the background to see what Romania's new masters are doing with their brand new power.

If we had to highlight an initial characteristic of the Romanian revolution, it would be the apparent passiveness of its protagonists, once the first days were over.

"That movement was directed primarily against the Ceausescus," according to Corneliu Bogdan, secretary of state for foreign affairs and the new government's spokesman. With Ceausescu ousted, the Romanians seem to be proving that the spokesman is right. Unlike Poland, there are no uncontrollable trade unions here demanding their due; unlike Czechoslovakia, the population is not joining together to carry one of their national heroes to the presidential palace; and, unlike the GDR, there are no political parties or groups here imposing constant dialogue on the government.

In Bucharest, 10 days after the uprising, the Council of the NSF governs, issues edicts and decrees, and makes appointments and, if there is any debate, there is no outward sign of it. It was feared that it was under the Army's surveillance, but the latter seems to be towing the line, and several of its representatives, appointed to prominent posts, seem to be cooperating rather than controlling. After General Nicolae Militaru, appointed as defense minister, General Anastasie Victor Stanculescu was appointed to the highly delicate post of minister of the economy, and General Mihai Glutac to the post of interior minister. By decree, an impressive number of colonels and generals have been promoted to a higher grade and retired officers have even been recalled to active service.

Romania has a government, but the latter does not define the policy it pursues; it implements the policy dictated to it by the Council of the NSF which has equipped itself with six specialized commissions for that purpose. What debates are going on within the Council of the NSF? It is a mystery. Sitting in the foreign ministry, an imposing building, with corridors as long as avenues, protected from outside ears, with the drapes drawn—for fear of guns with telescopic sights—the Council of the NSF seems as smooth as the surface of a mountain lake. Perhaps, after all, there are no disagreements among its members. [passage omitted]

Consensus is the key word. At the daily press meetings held for foreign journalists, Front representatives still stress that this is the Council's method of operating, and there must be consensus because none of the prominent figures in the Council who showed that they dared to speak out in the past has yet raised his voice. However, the Front's leadership is really diverse. Although the government contains a large number of former Communist cadres, they are the only administrators who have experience with the government machine—the Council of the NSF is dominated by officials from many backgrounds—students who are too young to have had to compromise themselves with the former regime, or longstanding oppositionists.

Several of them have just joined the 30 prominent intellectuals who formed the Social Dialogue group on 31 December. The new movement aims to be a "lucid conscience," "a body for critical thinking about the fundamental problems facing civilian society," a "laboratory" in which intellectuals of all disciplines will come together "to jointly seek the strategies and solutions which Romanian civilian society will need in the immediate future."

One of the main paradoxes of the present situation is that this group, whose impetus may eventually lead it to oppose the government, contains not only several famous members of the Council of the NSF, including Doina Cornea, Mircea Dinescu, and Mariana Celac, sister of Foreign Minister Sergiu Celac, but also Culture Minister Andrei Plesu, Education Minister Mihai Sora, and Alexandru Paleologu, Bucharest's new ambassador to Paris. They are also talking about the "necessary consensus," expressing "confidence in and support for" the Council which "needs peace to work." This does not rule out a degree of vigilance. "Many of us are skeptical," one of the founder members of the group admitted during a press conference. "It is up to the council to prove that it will not justify our opposition." [passage omitted]

It is at present impossible to predict the future importance of the many other parties currently being formed—the National Peasant Party, the Liberal Party, the Christian Democratic Party, the Party for Rebuilding, and so forth. However, all the signs are that they will have a difficult job gaining enough prominence before the elections to seriously challenge the NSF for votes.

The Front has decided to put forward candidates everywhere. The decision was apparently not made without difficulty but it was finally made. Although it rejects the term, the NSF is thus moving toward becoming a political party. What it will do with its ultimate victory is still nebulous. Will the Council of the NSF give way to the government which emerges from the ballot boxes or will it be tempted to play the role of supreme arbiter, in the name of safeguarding the revolution's ideals? None of the Front leaders questioned on this point has yet given an unequivocal answer.

Ecological Movement Presents Program

AU0301220290 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 2005 GMT 3 Jan 90

[Text] The Romanian Ecological Movement has presented its program, objectives, criteria, and its ideals—essentially streamlined according to important domains of economic, social, moral, and cultural activities, under the slogan: A clean man in a clean world.

The Ecological Movement has affirmed its support of the program of the National Salvation Front which, in the current stage, is in accordance with the objective of this movement; the Ecological Movement called on all countries to ensure a positive cooperation aimed at regenerating and preserving the ecological balance.

Tokes Persecutor Flees to France

LD0401093390 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0500 GMT 4 Jan 90

[Excerpt] According to information received by MAGYAR HARLAP, Laszlo Papp, the Reformed Church bishop of Transylvania, who was responsible, together with others, for the persecution of Laszlo Tokes, has fled to France. [passage omitted]

Drnovsek Letter on Joining Europe Council

LD2812204989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1706 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Text] Belgrade, 28 Dec (Tanjug)—On behalf of the SFRY Presidency, President Janez Drnovsek today sent a letter to SFRY Assembly President Slobodan Gligorijevic. The letter says:

"We are witnesses to profound and rapid changes in European economic, political, and social relations. For some time now, the activities planned and carried out by certain economic groups in Western Europe have been directed toward the formation of a joint economic area and joint democratic area. Europe '92 will bring qualitatively new norms of behaviour to economic and political life with the free flow of goods, people, capital, and ideas.

"Yugoslavia has always been an active factor in European events. In bilateral and multilateral relations we have developed the ideas of cooperation and progress. We have actively participated—and continue to do so—in the work of particular economic associations. The realized and envisaged changes in the economic and political system in Yugoslavia are creating conditions for the further deepening of relations and institutional inclusion in European integrational trends.

"The current changes in Europe demand even more active participation of us. The SFRY Presidency has examined the trends of the European integrational processes and our country's place in them. We have adopted the stance that work should be speeded up on improving the functioning of our economy, and that Yugoslavia's participation in international conventions in various fields should be stepped up. The SFRY Presidency has explicitly expressed the view in its conclusions that our aim is inclusion in the Council of Europe in the capacity of a full member, admission to the free trade zone agreement with the European Free Trade Association [EFTA] countries, membership of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development [OECD]; and the closest possible ties and cooperation with the EC.

"On behalf of the SFRY Presidency, I am asking the SFRY Assembly to deliberate on our stances and to begin the procedure for the inclusion of Yugoslavia in the Council of Europe. I also propose that the SFRY Assembly decide on the stances of the SFRY Presidency regarding the maximum alignment with the EFTA, OECD, and EEC integrations, so that the competent organs may begin the procedure for Yugoslavia's inclusion in these organizations."

Bosnia-Hercegovina Joins Alpe-Adria Group

LD2712153389 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1413 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] Sarajevo, Dec 27 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina today became the nineteenth member of the Alpe-Adria Community and its active observer. The decision to join the regional community was today reached by the Bosnia-Hercegovina Assembly.

The Yugoslav republics of Croatia and Slovenia are already members of Alpe-Adria. Alpe-Adria is made up of regions, republics or districts of Italy, Austria, Yugosalvia, the Federal Republic of Germany and Hungary.

The Bosnia-Hercegovina Assembly today said that its republic would soon join the Assembly of European Regions and cooperate with other members of the Central and Southern Adriatic Regional Community.

Djukic Speaks on Visit to Romania

AU2812181589 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Text] Presenting his impressions of his visit to Romania, Ilija Djukic, assistant federal foreign affairs minister, stressed that Yugoslavia assessed at the very beginning of events that these were historical and irreversible changes in Romania. The Romanian people paid a high price to restore national human dignity and penetrate their imposed isolation. Events in Romania are of historical importance for Romania, but not only for Romania. The new Romanian leadership and Yugoslavia consider that the changes in Romania have created opportunities for total cooperation in all areas.

Journalists at the news conference called by the Secretariat for Foreign Affairs were told that the secretariat will propose to the SFRY Presidency that Yugoslav reporters in Romania be decorated for their splendid work and reporting to the Yugoslav and world public. Here is Milorad Denda with a report on what else was said:

Yugoslavia was the first country to support the changes in Romania and to establish direct contact with the new Romanian leadership. This was preceded by statements of support from our highest organs, said Ilija Djukic, expressing satisfaction with the fact that the Yugoslav Government was the first government whose emissary was received in Bucharest.

Djukic reiterated that the new Romanian leaders had stressed that they highly valued Yugoslavia's support every day of the revolution. Despite the risks, Yugoslav reporters made great professional and human efforts to ensure that Yugoslavia and the world found out about what was really happening in Romania.

Representatives of the Yugoslav national minorities, Serbs and Croats—that is to say the initiative committee for setting up a democratic front of Serbs and Croats in Romania—handed Ilija Djukic a proclamation in which they welcome the changes and express their willingness to continue on the new road of a free Romania together with the Romanian people. In this proclamation, they particularly welcome the Council of the National Salvation Front in Bucharest and point seven of the platform program of the National Salvation Front which stressed that all national minorities will have the fullest human rights.

Ilija Djukic also specified the opportunities which are now being created for comprehensive Yugoslav-Romanian cooperation.

[Begin Djukic recording] It is the joint assessment of the Yugoslav and Romanian sides after the meetings that I have had—this is also the assessment in Belgrade at the federal level and in some of our other organs—that the changes which took place in Romania have opened both windows and doors and eliminated all borders to the development of truly substantial good-neighborly relations.

We believe that relations between sovereign Yugoslavia and a truly sovereign and independent Romania have great importance for both countries and have their own significance both for the region and for Europe as a whole. We believe that we will have borders that will not divide us but join us. The Yugoslav border is already like this and we believe that the Romanian border will become like this.

Perhaps the best and most indicative response to this question is what people told me in Timisoara, that is citizens of Timisoara who are both Romanians and Serbs and their newly elected officials. They told me that they would like us now to have the kind of borders to allow us to have breakfast in Novi Sad, lunch in Vrsac, and dinner in Timisoara. This formula, as it was described to me and which I am now quoting, probably shows the expectations of this people, this population, and the peoples of the two countries.

I can tell you that Yugoslavia is ready to participate in full cooperation in all areas—in the political, economic, cultural, and all other areas.

We are also sure—and this was said to me in Bucharest at the highest level in talks with Iliescu and Roman and in Timisoara in talks with Mr Fortuna—that the issue of national minorities as far as they are concerned has definitely been taken off the agenda. That the Yugoslav, Serbian, and Croatian nationalities—and not only those but also the others like Hungarians and Germans—will enjoy the fullest human rights at the level reached by European civilization today. In this respect, both members of the nationalities there and we as their neighbors can count on this. [end recording]

Asked about Yugoslavia's stand regarding the way the Ceausescu couple were tried and executed, Djukic said that Yugoslavia would have liked and appreciated it if it had been a public trial with a regular procedure in line with the belief that it is more fitting that democratic aims are achieved through democratic methods. However, one should not forget that the situation in Romania was indeed extraordinary; although no state of emergency was officially announced, it was created through bloody clashes with the remnants of the old regime.

Under the situation that the remnants of Ceausescu's guards had discovered where he was being held and were planning to release him, the new authorities decided on this step, certain that this would contribute to the end of bloodshed because any possible release of Ceausescu would certainly have led Romania into fratricidal war.

The new Romanian leaders themselves were not happy that Ceausescu's trial was conducted in such a way, but they underscore that this had to be done.

In this respect, Ilija Djukic mentioned that the Romanians are now faced with great problems which they are only now preparing to resolve, so that the problem of the way Ceausescu was tried on the wave of revolutionary changes is definitely not in the forefront nor the most important thing, but the contrary.

Assembly Committee on Relations With Romania

LD2712233389 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2120 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 27 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia was the first country to officially make contact with the Romanian National Salvation Front. Yugoslavia wants the future Romania to be a democratic country, open towards Yugoslavia and Europe as part of the positive trends on the continent, it was emphasized at the Yugoslav parliament Foreign Policy Committee session on Wednesday.

Deputy Foreign Minister Milivoj Maksic informed delegates at the session of the talks between Yugoslav Government envoy Ilija Djukicim and Romanian National Salvation Front President Ion Iliescu.

Expressing the hope that better days are coming for Yugoslav ethnic minorities in Romania, Maksic underlined that every regime in Yugoslavia's neighbourhood "will be convincing for it in the measure to which it includes a new, positive attitudes towards Yugoslav ethnic minorities." [sentence as received]

Responding to criticism from delegates that Yugoslavia should have been more energetic in its disagreement with the treatment of human rights and the position of Yugoslav ethnic minorities in Romania during the rule of Nicolae Ceausescu, Maksic recalled that with the increased threat to human rights in Romania of late, Yugoslavia's reserve towards Ceausescu's policy also grew.

Maksic also recalled that the last meeting (a year ago) between the then Yugoslav State Presidency President Raif Dizdarevic and Ceausescu resulted in a rift, above all due to the question of minorities. He said the meeting was the first between the leaders of the two countries which ended without a joint statement.

Maksic also said that only a few days before the turn of events in Romania, the former Romanian authorities had sharply complained over Yugoslavia's reserved attitude.

Ministry Spokesman on Macedonians in Bulgaria

LD2812205889 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1813 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 28 (TANJUG)—Commenting the recent statement of new Bulgarian Foreign Minister Boiko Dimitrov that there are no grounds for the solution of the Macedonian question in Bulgaria, Yugoslav Foreign Secretariat spokesman Io Vajgl said today that the problem of minorities was too complex and could not be taken off the agenda by any such statement.

Vajgl told a regular news conference in Belgrade that the Yugoslav ambassador in Sofia had discussed the position of the Macedonian minority in Bulgaria with Foreign Minister Dimitrov. He specified that the issue would remain on the agenda of the dialogue between the two countries.

Vajgl recalled that the process of [words indistinct] all democratization in Bulgaria should reflect also on the position of minorities in that country, which he said would serve as a criterion of the credibility of those social changes.

Presidential Decree Promotes Officers

LD2312140989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0913 GMT 21 Dec 89

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 21 (TANJUG)—By the decree of the SFRY Presidency the following promotions have been made in the Yugoslav People's Army: Colonel-General Veljko Kadijevic to the rank of Army General; Lieutenant-Colonel-Generals Blagoje Adzic, Zivota Avramovic, Simeon Buncic, Dr Milan Cusic, Konrad Kolsek, and Aleksandar Spirovski to the rank of Colonel-General; Vice-Admiral's Stane Brovet and Petar Simic to the rank of Admiral; Major-Generals Ibrahim Alibegovic, Bozo Denda, Velisav Dobrivojevic, Nikodin Jovanovic, Marko Negovanovic, Tomislav Perunicic, Dane Popovic, Dobrasin Prascevic, Andrija Silac, Dragoljub Simonovic, Vladimir Stojanovic, Pavle Strugar, Vladan Sljivic, Ivo Tominc, Dmitar Trbojevic, Nikola Uzelac, and Dr Vladimir Vojvodic to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel-General; Rear-Admiral Dragoljub Bocinov to the rank of Vice-Admiral; Colonels Milos Baros, Mico Delic, Milorad Dragojevic, Vojislav Djurdjevac, Borislav Djuric, Radomir Eremija, Josip Ignac, Dusan Koturovic, Marijan Kranjc, Branislav Kuzmanovic, Nikola Mandaric, Spiro Nikovic, Stranimar Peric, Milan Pujic, Vojislav Radovic, Milovan Ristic, Marijan Rozic, Petar Stipetic, Djuro Stupar, Rifat Sehovic, Ivan Stimac, Jovan Supic, Milan Torbica, Marijan Vidmar, Vladimir Vukovic, Vuleta Vuletic, and Dr Tusan Zunic to the rank of Major-General; Battleship Commander, Captain Jovan Popovic to the rank of Rear-Admiral.

SFRY Presidency New Year Message to Citizens

LD2912114189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0927 GMT 29 Dec 89

[Text] Belgrade, 29 Dec (TANJUG)—The SFRY Presidency has sent a message of greetings for the new year to Yugoslav citizens. Here is the message:

"Citizens of Yugoslavia; all of us together should make efforts in order that 1990 becomes a turning point in overcoming economic crisis, in implementing the social reforms embarked upon and in achieving economic and political stability. We must all fight together for our country's participation and place in Eastern democratic movements and its integration, and, at the same time, for its role as a non-aligned country which contributes to international cooperation and permanent peace in the world. We can achieve a richer, safer, and happier life, above all, through common will and united solidarity, better work, development of democracy, an improvement of civil rights and liberties, and equality of nations and nationalities in the Yugoslav socialist community".

"We wish a happy and prosperous 1990 to all SFRY citizens", the message of the SFRY Presidency concludes.

New Yugoslav Capital Market Founded

LD2712221989 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1750 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] Belgrade, December 27 (TANJUG)—The postal savings bank and 32 commercial banks from all over Yugoslavia founded a Yugoslav capital market here today, with another six banks announcing their intention to join it.

This is a second capital market set up in Yugoslavia, a stock exchange having been founded in Ljubljana, capital of the Republic of Slovenia, northwestern Yugoslavia, yesterday.

By instituting a capital market, in addition to a market for money and foreign exchange, conditions have been created for forming a single foreign exchange market in the [words indistinct] time, Dr Milovan Milutinovic, secretary-general of Yugoslavia's Association of Banks, said.

Pointing out that savings accounts are sources for the basic capital [word indistinct] now for the said markets to work and that enterprises cannot help but incur debts even for securing their working capital, Milutinovic voiced his doubt about whether in a foreseeable time they would [have] capital enough for several stock markets to operate successfully and make profit on the Yugoslav market, although they are permitted by law.

Through the federal government's adopting a package of measures aimed at curbing a galloping inflation and by spreading ownership forms in the national economy that foreign capital would become more interested in investing its money in Yugoslavia and in taking part in capital market transactions, Milutinovic voiced the hope. [sentence as received]

Government Takes Measures To Encourage Tourism

LD2712222389 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1843 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] Belgrade, December 27 (TANJUG)—As of early next year, foreign tourists will be free to enter Yugoslavia after showing their identity cards only and will need no passport, Yugoslavia's Federal Government decided at a session here today.

Within Yugoslavia's program for the year of European tourism to be held from January 1, 1990, to April 1, 1991, Yugoslav premier Ante Markovic's government has provided for simplifying border-crossing formalities. One among them (?is to) give the foreigners coming to spend their holidays in Yugoslavia their tourist coupons free of charge after having them show their identity cards.

The Yugoslav Government also decided in principle to abolish entry visas next year for the nationals of Greece, Japan, the U.S. and France.

Yugoslavia is one of the European and Mediterranean tourist powers. In the January-through-September period this year, it was visited by 17.5 million tourists who registered 91.4 million overnight stays in between.

Markovic Views Economic Reforms

LD2712233989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] Belgrade, 27 Dec (TANJUG)—If the seed of reform which has been shown is to germinate and yield the expected fruits to the common advantage of the whole Yugoslav economy and the entire Yugoslav community, it is essential to remove from the political soil as soon as possible our reciprocal quarrels, bickering, and confrontations and to turn to the real issues: our reform's future—the building of our joint and brighter future through its consistent implementation.

This is stated by Federal Exective Council [FEC] President Ante Markovic in an article entitled "The year of radical changes toward a way out of the crisis," which is published exclusively [word indistinct] by NARODNA ARMIJA.

In order for the economic reform program to succeed and yield the expected results, Anti Markovic writes, it is essential for all progressive forces in society to engage themselves in its implementation and to accept it as their own. The reform must become the possession and the future of all, and their accomplishment. He goes on: [words indistinct] of the daily behavior of all citizens.

It is the only correct way to successfully overcome the causes accumulated over the years of our economic and social crisis, to find a way out of it, restructure the economy, and open up a new cycle of development on healthy economic bases—for improving every individual's living conditions and work, stresses Ante Markovic.

Passive observers and sowers of disbelief in the success of reform are often simply skillful concealers of resistance to the reform which, by destroying all monopolies both in the economy and politics, poses a threat to their positions, Anti Markovic goes on to write in the article.

As the reform takes root, he continues, the maneuvering room for various political manipulations will be increasingly narrowed and "it will be less and less possible to shift the responsibility for one's own business mistakes and inabilities onto others." Everyone will have to face up to the truth—in his own environment—which will not always be pleasant, notes Markovic.

The changes in the economic sphere, the FEC president goes on, must be accompanied by appropriate changes in the political system as well because they are conditional upon each other.

This is why we have proposed the changes in the SFRY Constitution, without waiting for the drafting of the new one, in order to enable the government to conduct an effective macroeconomic policy, above all in the sphere of fiscal (or taxation) policy, in economic relations with other countries, and in the monetary sphere. Likewise, certain solutions are proposed which should ensure the better functioning of the Federation, for example the state security service's operation, and the right of the FEC to halt the execution of any act which limits the freedoms, rights, and duties of the individual and citizens, Markovic stresses.

He particularly stresses that this is the only reason for the FEC to seek wider powers, and it has no ambition to concentrate centralized powers in the federal state. The aim, according to Markovic, is the opposite—to formulate an appropriate economic policy and in this context to develop suitable economic markets and a legally efficient federal state.

With the economic reform program, which the Yugoslav Assembly endorsed at the FEC's proposal, Markovic believes, our country has entered a period of a "more comprehensive and radical socioeconomic and sociopolitical transformation on the basis of consistent institutional and systemic assumptions."

At the same time this is the way through which the Yugoslav federal state is really becoming a modern state of law, an efficient community in which all its nations and nationalities are equitable, a way with which our socialist society enters a rank of real democratic and civilized countries both in Europe, to which we belong, and the entire world, Markovic writes.

Only a speeded up and radical transformation of our country's economic and political system, Markovic points out, will ensure progressive development and building of new socialism which will mean a richer and more humane life for people and a social development, as well as our country's participation in modern world trends and use of this civilization's achievements.

Difficult and sometimes even tragic everyday reality in socialist countries convincingly shows what kind of fatal conflicts and ruptures are brought about precisely in those countries which used to be the most resistant to imminent changes in the existing socialism's model, Markovic stresses.

Life is, the president of the FEC further writes, giving us a deep affirmation of our way's correctness, and most recent events around us show that we have perhaps at the last minute made use of our opportunity and chosen the path of radical changes on the basis of programs and platforms, which by far surpassed the significance of the economic reform itself.

Had we given up our program, we would have probably suceeded very quickly in lowering inflation rate, but only for a short while. In the absence of systemic solutions, the appropriate economic system developed instruments and mechanisms for the macroeconomic policy's efficient implementation and created necessary material prerequisites, in particular in the absence of foreign liquidity, foreign exchange reserves, and the necessary foreign financial support, inflation would again rekindle, but then it would happen at an even higher level, Ante Markovic stresses in the text which is exclusively published by NARODNA ARMIJA. [sentence as received]

Druzic Interviewed on Party's Future

AU2812150389 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 1 Dec 89 p 6

[Branko Tudjen report on interview with Ivo Druzic, member of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and one of the two candidates for president of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, reprinted from Zagreb VECERNJI LIST; date and place not given: "Political Unity Without Doubts"]

[Text] [Question] It is often said that the League of Communists [LC] should be transformed into a modern democratic party. What do you understand by this?

[Druzic] If we proceed from the changing social-class position of the LC—which I advocate and which is both far broader than the concept that we understand today as the workers class and narrower since it is dependent above all on the creative and innovative part of the workers class—then this will probably not be able to take place within the categories of the traditional party.... Putting the member and the basic organizational form into the position of participant in the process of creating, realizing, and verifying the implementation of policy is probably the main task not of the reform but the LC's renovation. I am of the opinion that the LC's renovation will in fact mean that it will be reconstituted as a league of progress....

[Question] How do you view pluralism and democracy in general! Are you for a multiparty system or the so-called partyless pluralism?

[Druzic] Social processes in Yugoslavia are inevitably leading to a multiparty system. Therefore, in my opinion, instead of a debate "for" or "against," it is much more important to establish the rules of the democratic "game" through democratic totally open social dialogue without sharing out democracy a bit at a time. We are in the process of working out a new constitution and we know that the present constitution does not envisage multiparty pluralism. It is therefore important—while respecting the principles of a law-governed state—to make maximum use of the time until the new constitution is passed to set up both the subjects and social rules in the functioning of a multiparty political system. In this context, I also see among other things the function of the Socialist Alliance in this yearlong or 2-year transitional period for the new constitution....

[Question] It is being said that the Croatian LC would lose in direct elections in the race with other alliances and groups. Is this correct?

[Druzic] I think that at the moment, the Croatian LC would not lose in direct and secret elections, perhaps not so much because of its own strength but because of the "poor" quality and the bias of most of the alternative political forces. However, the drama of the changes that are taking place both in our country and in Europe could very quickly lead to a defeat for the Croatian LC if we do not embark even more quickly—but without panic or recklessness—on a radical transformation, that is to say programmatic and organizational renovation.

[Question] What should be the position of the Croatian LC within the framework of the LC of Yugoslavia [LCY]?

[Druzic] The Croatian LC as part of the LCY is responsible for the political situation, social development, and the implementation of LCY policy in Croatia among the citizens of the Socialist Republic of Croatia, the workers class, the Croatian people, the Serbian people who live in Croatia, and others who live here. There can be no different interests whatsoever which the Croatian LC would establish at its social and national basis. In this context, the Croatian LC should continue to give its contribution to and take responsibility for the construction of unity in the LCY in a democratic and patient dialogue while respecting the stands of the other parts of the LCY....

[Question] Will the Extraordinary 14th LCY Congress be a turning point or a disaster?

[Druzic] Neither. Congresses have always sanctioned previous practice, activity, and already executed turnarounds rather than been decisive turning points. I expect that both because of our situation and the international context and the final discrediting of real socialism, the congress will be another step along the line of the First LCY Conference in formulating and putting into operation reform orientations.

[Question] How do you imagine Yugoslavia in light of preparations for passing the new constitution: as a federation, a confederation, or a considerably more centralized state than it is today?

[Druzic] I think that it is not rational to talk about different variants of the federation on the principles of AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia], which means proceeding from the national sovereignty of Yugoslav peoples and their right to self-determination which is the lasting inherent right without which there is not even any national sovereignty. Therefore, I support the stands of those of our experts on constitutional law who think that relations in the federation and the right and duty of the federation should be affirmed proceeding from the basic constitutional prerequisite that republics as states and federations, as their community, have their own legal and political identity and that therefore power (sovereignty) is divided between them, but they are also originally sovereign republics. That means that citizens (working people and citizens) realize their sovereign rights originally and primarily in republics, and at the level of the federation when this is established by the federal Constitution. Proceeding from this basic prerequisite, the fact is that in the procedure for adopting the federal constitution the federation is a constitutional agreement between republics, and this means that the federal constitution is adopted and changed as a whole and in parts exclusively under the condition of the consensus of all republics....

[Question] How do you see the Socialist Republic of Croatia as a part of Yugoslavia but also as a part of Europe and the world?

[Druzic] I see it as a self-reliant and equal state and community in the context of Yugoslavia, capable of taking full responsibility for its own development and of making the appropriate contribution to the Yugoslav community. I think that the Socialist Republic of Croatia can offer and take responsibility for its own development and for that of the community through compatible Yugoslav programs and those developmental programs which realize its republican and national interest and which are at the same time a part of joint unified Yugoslav interests....

Bosnian Daily Views Serb-Slovene Dispute

AU2712072489 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 5 Dec 89 p 7

[Reprint of Faho Memic commentary from Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE: "Dangerous Game"]

[Text] The day of dissension, the epithet that has recently been used for the "meeting of truth" that was supposed to take place in Ljubljana, depending on which arsenal of weapons is used in open clashes between two concepts of democracy—the Slovene and Serbian—appears to have been an almost perfect screen for the latest increase in the prices of fuel, electricity, transportation, and other goods to go by "in peace." Even more so was the decision of the Socialist Republic of Serbia not to give its consent to the Draft Foreign Exchange Law.

On the one hand, we—with the certainly greatest grumbling against the decision of Markovic's government concerning the latest price increases on the eve of the most important national holiday, which, not without reason, many people say are a result of compromises, concessions to two the republics with the biggest oil refining and power generating industries—somehow got over these price increases. We did this by tightening our belts until we become unconscious and by giving up some achievements of this civilization without which we could not even go back to the 19th century, let alone advance to the 21st century. On the other hand, we are still unaware of what the withdrawal of the consent to the Foreign Exchange Law means for this society, state, and the economic reform. All this is because of the "mistakes in drafting the law for which the Federal Executive Council should bear responsibility."

The withdrawal of support basically boils down to the following: There will be nothing of the reform.

...Unfortunately, the move that was made is not a smoke screen that will be blown away by a breeze. We are talking about a firm, ultimate stand. We are talking about an obstacle over which the already adopted laws—such as the Law on Enterprises, Foreign Investments, Foreign Trade and so forth—will fall, unless reason prevails. Perhaps this reason should not be expected, especially in view of the latest proposal by the Socialist Republic of Serbia to break all relations with Slovenia.

There is no doubt, and this has been demonstrated both before and after the day of dissension, that Yugoslavia has found itself near the border which is as close to dissension as civilized Europe is close to unity. One cannot help thinking that this thoroughly researched and well rehearsed scenario was prepared in advance, just like was the day and place of its execution.

The only thing is that some people, and there are quite a number of those, do not want to understand that the fratricidal war will take place throughout Yugoslavia. One thing is for sure, we will not need the Law on Foreign Exchange then, just as is certain that Europe will not accept the Yugoslavia in its present state: a country in which some people are allowed to defend their freedom with all possible means, but when others use the same method, they are reproached for attacking democracy. Meetings have not only been banned in Slovenia. Let us recall the ban on the printing of NON [student newspaper]....

Let us above all recall the AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia] principles. We should all brush up our knowledge about them.

Tupurkovski on Serb-Slovene Relations

AU2812122789 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 5 Dec 89 p 2

[TANJUG report on interview with Vasil Tupurkovski, member of the SFRY Presidency, broadcast on Skopje Television; date and place not given: "Great Harm to Serbs and Slovenes"]

[Text] Skopje, 3 Nov—Vasil Tupurkovski, member of the SFRY Presidency, gave a comprehensive interview to Skopje Television concerning the latest events in relations between Serbia and Slovenia.

It is obvious that in our country, the processes of society's and the country's disintegration are coming to a head in their own way and that the logic of togetherness and common interests is being replaced with a one-sided political attitude toward Yugoslavia and toward everyone in Yugoslavia, asserted Tupurkovski. He emphasized that it would be difficult to expect a different development in the entire country's political situation, considering the decade of—primarily political—stagnation in which we began to base everything on the state. Under such circumstances, the statism of all social relations has grown enormously and relations are based on the republics' statehood.

Because of this supremacy of the state and statism, even the expression of brotherhood and unity is nowadays becoming pejorative. We are founding and want to implement everything that we want to resolve in the national interest through this extraordinarily powerful state. Therefore, the national element in such a state becomes the dominant one, so even under these conditions it would be difficult to expect a different denouement to this dynamic negative growth of disintegrational processes in our country.

Unacceptable Absolutizing

This phenomenon is also shown by the level of communication between the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, which is very harmful, stressed Tupurkovski. I cannot accept that the communication between our republics and our leaderships which represent them is dominated by the absolutization of interests, disrespect for mutual interests, and the imposition of the logic of a biased assessment of all the others' behavior. The harm done by this is great both for the Serbian and the Slovene people and is perhaps greater for the other peoples and nationalities.

Tupurkovski then highlighted his idea that the "meeting of truth" be replaced with some other form of communication and that this really should be communication and dialogue. Our differences over the key issues of the SFRY's present and future development are not unknown and one of the problems which is approached in different ways is the Kosovo problem. In Tupurkovski's opinion, Slovenia lacks the necessary sensitivity which characterizes other communities in Yugoslavia when it comes to the Kosovo problem. This does not mean that the Socialist Republic of Slovenia does not understand the seriousness of the Kosovo situation.

Homogenizations Have Enslaved Leaderships

Tupurkovski assessed the measures of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia and the Socialist Republic of Serbia as repressive and stressed that no one has the right to base their own logic for overcoming interethnic problems on coercion and repression. I think, he added, that both sides lack understanding for the specific nature and complexity of interethnic relations. This has led us to the situation whereby the application of repressive measures is resorted to when it comes to resolving interethnic problems.

We speak about political and economic freedoms and we attempt to realize a civilizational shift in the expansion of people's rights in the political and economic field but we implement repressive measures and establish blockades, which will not be without exceptionally serious consequences.

In reply to the question of who creates anti-Serbian and anti-Slovene feeling—the people or the leadership—Tupurkovski stressed that he has claimed for quite a long time that the leaderships bear an enormous amount of responsibility for both the negative developmental trend and increased nationalism. Without exception, our leaderships have become slaves to decadent schemes for national homogenization. I respect the rights and feelings of a people, said Tupurkovski, but I do not have any respect whatsoever for "national leaders" who play the "national" card.

I am convinced, continued Tupurkovski, that it is not good to create a psychosis of national imperilment. I am not saying that we do not have problems, but we must have an effect on spreading our common interests for the development of our cultural and other potentials. Only in this way can we, as the SFRY Presidency, strike back at the instrumentalization [instrumentalizacija] of daily interests.

The accountability of the Presidency and the president of the SFRY has frequently been mentioned in recent days. I think that we insist too much on looking for culprits in every other community apart from our own. I will not justify anyone's actions; however, I am trying to find the good intentions of those who launched the initiative concerning this accountability. I do not find anything harmful in the activities of the SFRY Presidency, which does not mean that our accountability should not be assessed using arguments and in a responsible way, and in this respect, no one should be spared.

I think that the SFRY Presidency failed in the conflict between Serbia and Slovenia, stressed Tupurkovski. The rejection of the meeting in Ljubljana as a way of establishing a certain harmony in understanding the Kosovo problem and the non-acceptance of this move caused this negative escalation. As the SFRY Presidency, we had to avoid this by taking conscious action. Before the holiday the Presidency sought a solution through other forms of communication but it did not succeed, so that the further development of events was inevitable, concluded Tupurkovski.

Shocking Counting of Heads [prebrojavanje]

The exploitation of the idea about disintegration as the interest of any people or nationality in the SFRY is an anachronism in an era of integrational processes and interdependence in the world, stressed Tupurkovski. Our peoples support a common existence but it is not a matter of indifference under which circumstances our integration—I would now say reintegration—is to take place. Its conditions must be unconditional respect for our peoples and nationalities and people's rights.

In reply to the question of whether it was an accident that 1 December was chosen for the "meeting of truth" in Ljubljana, Tupurkovski said that along with national peculiarities we must also respect national history. No one can say that they ensured that 29 November 1943 would happen. AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia] was the result of a common struggle and huge casualties among the peoples and nationalities of Yugoslavia. Thus, the idea of redirecting or changing collective history and historical memory must be condemned.

It is absurd, Tupurkovski pointed out among other things, for the Socialist Republic of Macedonia and the Macedonian people to take sides with anyone in Yugoslavia. The Macedonian people and the nationalities in the Socialist Republic of Macedonia support a SFRY conceived as a community created on voluntary foundations and, therefore, a community of equal peoples and nationalities.

The question of the size of economic potential should not be the most important issue for political and national equality. The historic interest of the Macedonian people is the SFRY as a socialist, federal, nonaligned, self-managing, and democratic country.

I find shocking—stressed Tupurkovski—the head-counting [prebrojavanje] which is used to serve some daily political interests and some strategic options for creating a new Yugoslavia. We in Macedonia reject these options.

We advocate, said Tupurkovski at the end, that the negative trend between the Socialist Republic of Slovenia and the Socialist Republic of Serbia be stopped. I will take a categoric stand for the immediate establishment of dialogue between these republics and their leaderships. I would also judge my right to continue to be a member of the SFRY Presidency from this angle, stressed Tupurkovski.

At the end of the interview for Skopje Television, Tupurkovski announced that a session of the SFRY Presidency would be held at 1000 tomorrow. He stressed that he expected the Presidency—within the framework of its constitutional influences—to impose respect for constitutionality and legality and create conditions for overcoming in principle the situation that has arisen.

Vojvodina SAWP Elects New Officials

LD1412213489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1344 GMT 14 Dec 89

[Text] Novi Sad, Dec 14 (TANJUG)—Radovan Pankov, member of the Vojvodina SAWP [Socialist Alliance of Working People] Provincial Conference Presidium, was elected president of the Vojvodina SAWP Provincial Conference at an electoral conference today.

Dragan Siljepcevic was reelected to the post of secretary of the Vojvodina SAWP Provincial Conference Presidium. Ruzica Vukic is the president of the Vojvodina Conference for the Social Position of Women. Candidate lists for the most responsible offices in the Socialist Alliance contained more names than the number to be elected.

SAWP Presidium Members Named

LD1412220289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1822 GMT 14 Dec 89

[Text] Novi Sad, Dec 14 (TANJUG)—At today's electoral session of the Vojvodina Socialist Alliance of Working People [SAWP] Provincial Conference, 18 new presidium members were elected from 28 proposed candidates.

The following were elected as members of the presidium: Herzebet Budac, Milorad Vukovic, Nikola Gubor, Dr Sava Grujic, Djuro Desnica, Zoran Kalaba, Dr Jan Kisgeci, Djine Knezevic, Jovan Krulj, Svetozar Medic, Nikola Novakovic, Rajko Popovic, Ljubica Radisic, Ruza Denes, Gordana Stamenkovic, Dr Eleonora Stoja, Olga Hadzic, And Dr Tripo Scepanovic.

The newly elected officials, President Radovan Rankov, Secretary Dragan Slijepcevic, and President of the Women's Aktiv Ruzica Lukic, and the presidents of the other sociopolitical organizations also become part of the composition of the Presidium.

SAWPY Conference on Conflicts Reported

LD1412152289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1149 GMT 13 Dec 89

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 13 Dec (TANJUG)—The country's current and already dramatic economic and political crisis, which is the result of previous development trends, is being particularly exacerbated by the conflicts between the republican and provincial leaderships, which are stimulating confrontations in intranational relations. All this threatens the implementation of the economic and political reforms and has a destructive effect on the country's defense capabilities and its international reputation.

The Socialist Alliance of Working People [SAWP] is not outside these processes and hence the question must be asked: How should society's broadest front take action to stop this escalation in intranational disagreements and conflicts, Jelena Milojevic, president of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia [SAWPY] federal conference, assessed in her introductory report to today's session of the SAWPY federal conference.

Members of the federal conference are today analyzing the country's current socioeconomic and political situation, as well as adopting rules concerning the nomination procedure for the election and recall of delegates in the SFRY assembly's federal chamber.

Under these circumstances, Jelena Milojevic stressed, nationalist forces, with their interpretation of current problems and their purposeful hampering of social dialogue, are holding back from the social scene every initiative to resolve the problems and are pushing our society into an even greater crisis. They are attempting to block any initiative to change the existing situation, conscious that it is only in an atmosphere of distrust, suspicion, and discord that they can achieve their aims. This is why they have great resistance to all the reforms, because they remove the social causes of nationalism.

Fewer and fewer punches are being pulled in the disqualifications of individual personalities and leaderships in another environment. There are many accusations which are unfounded, Jelena Milojevic assessed. The flirting with nationalism in one's own environment is becoming increasingly pronounced. All this only contributes to the further escalation of nationalism. In a multinational community such as ours, nationalism has a destructive effect on the entire society, not only in the community and nation where it rears its head. Hence it is the duty of every community to resolutely oppose and prevent any attempt at the nationalist disruption of intranational relations. Hence the criticism of nationalism cannot be restricted, especially not by the explanation that the nationalism of each community and each nation is exclusively its own affair. Jelena Milojevic's believes that the most effective struggle against nationalism is the one waged in the community and nation in which it emerges, but at the same time no nationalism can be protected from criticism throughout our community, which as a whole suffers the negative consequences of nationalist activity.

We are convinced, the president of the SAWPY federal conference said, that most of our people want to preserve Yugoslavia and are prepared to become involved in these tasks. The divisions and confrontations that have taken place so far between the leaders of the republics and provinces are a great impediment to this. What we can and are obliged to do is stimulate, support, and organize our activities that will establish bridges, understanding, and cooperation between the nations and nationalities, that will contribute to overcoming intranational disagreements and that will oppose the spread of national hatred and intolerance in one's own environment.

The crisis in intranational relations reached its culmination, in Jelena Milojevic's view, with the banning of the protest meeting in Ljubljana and with the breaking-off of economic relations between the Serbian and Slovenian Socialist Republics.

The Presidium of the SAWPY federal conference, she recalled, stated that the dispute between these two socialist republics has worsened the country's already difficult overall political and economic situation and that the further exacerbation of these relations will have unforeseeable negative consequences for SFRY's future.

The most recent problems in interrepublican relations have also highlighted yet another serious sensitive point in our political system: the ineffectiveness of the federal state's functioning and the lack of political mechanisms for overcoming the disputes between federal units democratically and in a way in which each conflict would not threaten the bases of the state's existence as a whole, the quality of the republics and provinces, and the dignity of the nations and nationalities.

This year, Jelena Milojevic recalled, the questions of political pluralism and its expression and incorporation in the framework of the political system's functioning have been considered in the SAWP. Our society, objectively speaking, is already functioning under conditions of political pluralism, and we are no longer faced by the question of whether to accept it or not, but by the question of its constitutional legalization through the freedom of association, organization, and public activity. At this point in time, political pluralism means for the SAWP the freedom of the expression for the most varied interests in the framework of a socialist social orientation. Although the SAWP has been supporting political pluralism, but not a multi-party system, this does not mean that we have rejected a priori the debate on the scope for the political system's development on these bases, too. On this orientation [words indistinct] we consider that the freedoms of political organization cannot depend on less or greater (?benevolence) and liberalness on the authorities' part, and we advocate discussion on these issues and future solutions in the framework of the changes to the Constitution.

The existing Constitution leaves us each day with less room in which to resolve the our society's increasingly numerous problems merely with instruments and in the framework of the political system. Each new problem in interrepublican and provincial relations increasingly brings into question the unity of the political system, Jelena Milojevic, stressed.

What is particularly worrying and causing disquiet, she said, is the breakneck growth in prices and inflation, which has a powerful impact on the decline in the living standard of working people and citizens and leads some of the most endangered people to the brink of poverty and death. Under such circumstances, the positive results achieved have objectively been overshadowed and are not sufficiently valued in the ordinary citizen's consciousness and are not a confirmation and security that the adopted economic policies are the right ones and that their application can bring us out of the crisis.

The SAWP, as the exponent of social control and as an organization which has politically verified the basic program and measures of the Federal Executive Council, has the right and duty to monitor the realization of this program and its influence on the overall economic but also social and political events and the mood of the broadest strata of working people and citizens, the president of the SAWPY federal conference said.

Practice shows that the global aims of economic policy cannot be implemented when the partial interests of the republics and provinces are hampering the adoption of one or two necessary laws and measures. Apart from this, the high inflation rate is destroying the logic of efficient market behavior. Under these conditions it is obvious that additional anti-inflationary measures are essential for us. Unless inflation is curbed, it is impossible to implement the economic reforms more rapidly and consistently conduct and implement economic and social policy, as vital factors of the country's internal stabilization and as the first step on the road to other more profound political reforms, Jelene Milojevic stressed.

Before the beginning of the discussion, a brief debate was conducted on Ivan Katerdzijev's proposal to approve—instead of stances on the country's current socioeconomic and political situation as had been envisaged—an appeal to the public "and the leaders who are quarrelling" to begin an essential social dialogue. After several different views on this proposal, it was decided that the conference delegates will make their views known on this during the session.

Milica Kostic, as the first participant in the discussion, explained the lack of agreement on the key causes of the crisis by the abundance of differences on how to resolve it. The economic reforms, she pointed out, are not possible in a politically disunited country.

We are left with only two possibilities, Milo Babic pointed out: the destruction and breakup of Yugoslavia or the emergence from the crisis, which is possible only if the old economic and political system is fully abandonned. Hence, he stressed, it should be clearly stated that those who support the destruction are all those who, regardless of which republic they come from or what their names are, continue to support the old economic and political system, a one-party system, the monopoly of the League of Communists, the "puppet-like" role of the SAWP, and trials for verbal and thought offences. [passage omitted]

We do not need Israeli or U.S. experts to curb inflation, Branislav Soskic said, because there are no dilemmas about this science in our country. According to him, the thesis that to curb inflation it is necessary to wait for greater development and the promulgation of radical reforms is unacceptable. This is needed, but inflation must be curbed right now, above all by restrictive monetary and credit policy. If this is not done, then what we will have is either lack of know-how and incompetence or the dominance of "narrow interests". [passage omitted] [transmission interrupted, tanjug take 8 not received] [passage omitted]

Following the debate, the delegates to the federal conference adopted, with some amendments, the stances on the country's current sociopolitical and economic situation. The speaker of the working group for their preparation, Omer Djug, SAWPY federal conference Presidium member, recalled inter alia that the federal conference last year approved the demand for work to be speeded up on adopting the new SFRY constitution and that a part of the stances which are devoted to this represent in fact a repetition of the two initiatives.

Because the conclusions from the last extraordinary session of the SAWPY federal conference Presidium were included in the stances, the federal conference today confirmed that its Presidium should initiate and coordinate direct contacts and talks between the presidia of the Slovene and Serbian SAWP. The call is also made for the appropriate organs and organizations in the federation, each within its own sphere of competence, to propose and organize similar talks between the organs of Slovenia and Serbia.

The declining intranational relations in the country and intranational and interrepublic divisions, mistrust and conflicts, and particularly the escalation of nationalism, represent the most serious political barrier to the resolution of the economic and other problems which have long been hindering society, the stances stress. The Socialist Alliance, therefore, calls on all the country's social factors, particularly in the republics and provinces, to contribute by their behavior and activity to halting the unprincipled and irrational public conflicts and polemics and to resolutely stamp out further nationalistic and chauvinistic activity, above all in their own environment, but also throughout the country.

The stances stress that it is essential to speed up work on the reform of the political system and the preparation of the new SFRY constitution, having full regard for the constitutionally prescribed procedure for its adoption. The call is made, moreover, for cadre renewal to be realized and conditions to be created for the efficient operation of all the political system's institutions by means of democratic elections of cadres to all assemblies and to all public social posts in the forthcoming delegate elections.

In addition to involvement in the consistent implementation of the Yugoslav program on Kosovo, the coordination of political activity in carrying out the measures for the stabilization of the province's situation, and the creation of conditions for ending the temporary measures, the delegates committed themselves to examining, among other things, the reasons for the non- implementation of the Yugoslav program on Kosovo and proposing amendments at the next session of the federal conference. [passage omitted]

Appeals To End Conflict

LD1412160389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1940 GMT 13 Dec 89

[Text] Belgrade, 13 Dec (TANJUG)—Discussing the current socioeconomic and political situation in the country, the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia [SAWPY] federal conference today appealed to all citizens and leaderships of Yugoslavia to contribute to their concrete and responsible behavior toward solving the crisis and bring an end to divisions and squabbles.

The federal confeence appeal reads:

Citizens of Yugoslavia, this is the juncture at which, with our immediate involvement, we should contribute toward dealing with the present crisis and bring to an end divisions and squabbles which create distances between us. Let us turn toward shared interests, let us create an atmosphere for shared work and life.

Let us preserve the great heritage of our revolution, of a shared life. Together we achieved historical victories; created a basis for further material, sociopolitical, and cultural development; and achieved great prestige in the international community.

We are asking the highest ranking organs in the federation, republics, and provinces to carry out their constitutional obligations, to be efficient, consistent, and energetic in implementing the Constitution and laws and that within the framework of their authorities they undertake all necessary measures to overcome present conflicts and stabilize the country's overall situation.

We are asking the leaderships in socialist republics and socialist autonomous provinces to stop conflicts and mutual accusations immediately and urgently and that in the interest of the SFRY nations and nationalities they start constructive agreements on conflicting issues.

Our country and our citizens deserve to move toward a more certain future, to be integrated in Europe on an equitable basis, and to successfully deal with economic, sociopolitical, and other problems being brought in by the 21st century. We can only achieve this in a united and strong SFRY, a community of equal nations, and nationalities, the appeal sent by the SAWPY federal conference to citizens and leaderships of the country stated.

Vojvodina Assembly Rejects FEC Program

LD2312123589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1737 GMT 19 Dec 89

[Excerpts] Novi Sad, 19 Dec (TANJUG)—At a session held today the Vojvodina Assembly failed to endorse the program of measures proposed by the Federal Executive Council [FEC] which was presented yesterday by FEC President Ante Markovic. It was said that the proposed program should be radically changed and amended so that it could be endorsed. The long-expected FEC program has not fully taken into account proposals for a way out of the economic crisis and for a more resolute change in the struggle against inflation, the Vojvodina Assembly believes.

Jugoslav Kostic, president of the Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province [SAP] of Vojvodina, proposed in a debate held after the session of the Chamber of Associated Labor that the proposed FEC program not be endorsed. As far as concrete proposals of federal laws are concerned, Kostic believes that the province should draw up concrete proposals and comments and that these should be entered in the assembly procedure and the process of harmonization in the appropriate bodies of the SFRY Assembly.

The proposed FEC program, Kostic stressed, cannot be endorsed by the Vojvodina Assembly since on several key issues no acceptable, comprehensive, and long-term solutions is offered. This, according to him, primarily refers to agricultural policy, since its increasingly difficult position is not being taken into account, and then to foreign exchange differences, and particularly to the freezing of personal incomes because, as he said, a great number of working people and citizens live on the margins of existence.

At a joint session of all three chambers of the Vojvodina Assembly, Sredoje Erdeljan, vice president of the Executive Council, presented stands, views, and critical comments of the Executive Council of the Vojvodina SAP Assembly, which the delegates discussed at separate sessions. [passage omitted: Erdeljan says that agriculture has not been given the place it deserves in the proposed program]

In a very lively debate at a session of the Sociopolitical Chamber, the view was expressed that according to the FEC's proposed package of measures, the main burden for curbing inflation again would be borne by underdeveloped areas, by poor areas and agriculture. It was said that most of the delegates favored a federal government program that would make it possible for the burden to be shared equally by all, in all the republics and provinces. [passage omitted: While some delegates express doubts about the program, others demand energetic measures for curbing inflation]

At the Vojvodina Assembly session, criticism also was made of the FEC's failure to be consistent in its public statements, since it claimed that there would be no freeze of personal incomes. However, it was said, the proposal presented by Ante Markovic is surprising and it denies such official claims.

Vojvodina Assembly Elects New Executive Council

LD2812062189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1455 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Summary] Novi Sad, 27 Dec (TANJUG)—At a joint session of all three chambers of the Vojvodina Assembly, delegates today elected a new president and members of the executive council and provincial secretaries. Newly-elected president of the Vojvodina Executive Council, Radoman Bozovic, addressed the joint session, noting the importance of new policies in agriculture as a contribution to finding a way out of the economic crisis. Following an expose of the list of candidates, the delegates elected the following:

"In an open vote, the delegates unanimously supported the election of Dr Radoman Bozovic as new president of the executive council and new members of the council and provincial secretaries. As members of the executive council they elected Bozoki Antal, a farmer from Kanjiza, Feher Istvan, Dr Koviljko Lovre and Dr Jovan Radic. Col Geza Farkas was reelected as provincial secretary for national defense, and Predrag Markov was reelected secretary for internal affairs. Iles Dobo was appointed provincial secretary for justice and administration, Rasko Bozovic as provincial secretary for finance, Branislav Popovic as provincial secretary for the economy, Dr Jan Kisgeci as provincial secretary for agriculture and water management, Dr Mladen Prvulovic as provincial secretary for health, veterans' questions and social welfare, Zoran Cetkovic as provincial secretary for international cooperation, Danko Visekruna as provincial secretary for transport and communications, Djordje Nadrljanski as provincial secretary for education and culture, Zoran Milosevic as provincial secretary for science, technological development and information sciences, and Dr Slavko Vlatkovic as provincial secretary for urban planning, housing and environmental protection."

Vojvodina Stand on Economic Reform Changed

AU0301151690 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 22 Dec 89 p 5

[B. G. report: "One Document and Two Stances"]

[Text] At the latest session of the Assembly of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina held 2 days ago, Sredoje Erdeljan, vice president of the Vojvodina Executive Council, and acting president, made the introductory speech on the exaimination of the Economic Reform Program and its realization. As is known, Vojvodina did not extend its support to the measures of the Federal Executive Council and asked that they be radically worked upon.

The speech which was distributed to journalists immediately before it was delivered says the following: "At its session today, the Executive Council of the Assembly of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina discussed and supported the program and measures for implementing it...."

However, just before the session and immediately before the speech was read and distributed to the journalists, the respective services acting at the orders of their superiors crossed out two words, "and supported." By deleting these two words, the stand of the provincial government and thus the proposal to the assembly of how it should act were changed.

And in conclusion: It is obvious that with the amendment (by deleting two words) and thus the change in the stand, the following passage was added at the end of the speech: "...Because of what has been said and because of all these indications and assessments of the insufficient consistency in, and elaboration of, how the anti-inflation policy is to be implemented and because of the shortcomings in presenting specific figures of estimates and effects of the proposed measures, the Executive Council is of the opinion that the program cannot be supported...." Erdeljan also added that it should be rigorously improved.

We think that no comment is necessary because a photocopy of the papers distributed to the journalists speaks volumes.

However, Vojvodina businessmen think differently, and they support the government measures. Provincial politics and business are now out of step.

Vojvodina Journalists Set Up Independent Group

AU0301151390 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 25 Dec 89 p 4

[S. Raletic report: "First Independent Journalists Association: Initiative With 500 Signatures"]

[Text] Novi Sad, 24 Dec—At a session of the initiative committee for the formation of an independent journalists association, held in Novi Sad yesterday, it was stressed that in addition to the 500 signatories from all of Vojvodina, the association will be open to all the interested journalists from Yugoslavia. In this way, a decision was virtually adopted to set up a new journalists association whose seat will be in Novi Sad.

The new association's aims will be: to strive for a free press, a united information area, and the elimination of all the influences that subordinate journalism to political propaganda and to regional and other partial political interests. This organization's journalists will struggle for pluralism of ideas and opinions, except those that advocate violence and limit the freedoms and rights of others, but will also struggle for the protection of the rights and freedoms of all those who are exposed to reprisals because of their articles in the press. They will also struggle for journalists' professional training and for a material and social status worthy of man and of the journalistic profession. The independent journalists association will be open to all professional journalists, as well as those who publish their work in information media in the territory of Yugoslavia.

The decision on setting up the association was signed by Andras Fakekas, Mile Isakov, Zagorka Radovic, Darinka Nikolic, Bele Garai, Radovan Colevic, Arpad Nemet, Mihalj Ramac, Atila Balaz, Vladimir Harak, and Slobodan Beljavski. It is expected that the Association of Journalists will be registered in about 10 days.

Novi Sad Forms 'Alliance of Radical Democrats'

AU2412220189 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 8 Dec 89 p 7

[B. Lazukic article: "A System of 'Limited' Democracy"]

[Excerpts] Novi Sad, Dec 7—The interests of Yugoslavia demand that we follow a democratic road as represented by a totally free press, freedom of assembly, freedom of election and discussion, and freedom from fear—this is very important—and, therefore, the freedom to organize political associations through political alliances, parties, and movements. This is the reason for the launching of an initiative to found the Alliance of Radical Democrats, the Novi Sad lawyer Oliver Novakovic said in a supplementary "explanation" to BORBA after the news appeared in newspapers that he is starting the initiative to renew the People's Radical Party. [passage omitted]

Yugoslav Orientation

"Our opposition," the initiator of this alliance promised, "will be constructive and tolerant, and we have every reason to expect that it will be legally regulated. It must assume its proper place in the political system. A view and belief that the multi-party system is necessary," Novakovic added, "is evidently making progress in Serbia, and bearing in mind the fact that our alliance will operate throughout the territory of Yugoslavia, and will be based in Belgrade, we wish to achieve constitutional changes in Serbia and Yugoslavia, in order to delete the existing constitutional provisions about the League of Communists, from all our constitutions.

"Our future alliance," its initiator further declared, "will be based in Belgrade. It has a Yugoslav orientation, opposes any confederation, and it is only by chance that the idea of founding it came from Novi Sad. We will not confine ourselves," Oliver Novakovic said, "to matters concerning Novi Sad, but will embrace the whole of Yugoslavia, if that is at all possible today." [passage omitted]

Croat Social Democratic Party Formed

LD2312113189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1657 GMT 18 Dec 89

[Text] Zagreb, Dec 18 (TANJUG)—The Social Democratic Party of Croatia will take part in the next elections. In its work, it will devote particular attention to socially deprived groups and also will develop intensive activity in the legislative sphere.

Journalists were informed about this in Zagreb today by the party's leadership, headed by Dr Antun Vujic. The party held its constitutive assembly on Saturday [16 December].

This latest, as yet unregistered party, plans to function throughout the country and will continue the traditions of the Social Democratic Party first established in Croatia in 1894. Attention is drawn to its federalist orientations, reflected in the party's support for a Yugoslavia "that guarantees sovereignty to all constitutive states and nations, the right to self-determination, the inviolability of election rules in individual federal units, equality for all its nations, and autonomy for nationalities." The provision on the "inviolability of election rules" is based on the view that there are no equal opportunities for democracy in all the parts of Yugoslavia and that democracy should be more developed in those parts where it stands more chance.

Among the first demands sent to the Croat Assembly is one calling for the abolition of the provision on the leading role of the League of Communists. The social democrats also ask that the adoption of the law on internal affairs and offences be postponed. Lawyer Zeljko Olujic, vice president of the party, described a proposed law on the possibility of redeeming tenancy right as "monstrous," and announced a fight to abolish this law, which he saw as being "unjust and a robbery."

The Social Democrats will advocate an independent press and television. In their view, they can count on great support from the electorate and on an electoral victory, providing equal conditions are guaranteed for everyone in the elections.

Montenegrin Planning Minister Resigns

LD2312223689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1139 GMT 23 Dec 89

[Text] Titograd, 23 Dec (TANJUG)—Zarko Rakcevic, Montenegrin secretary for urban planning, construction, housing, and communal affairs, has submitted his unconditional resignation from the post.

Explaining his decision, Rakcevic says that when he accepted this post not even 9 months ago, he considered that conditions would be created in the republic for the implementation of fundamental changes in the economic and political system. However, Rakcevic now considers that in the present constellation of relations, these essential changes which are within the competence of the republic cannot be carried out for the foreseeable future. Although everyone is verbally in favor of reform in Montenegro, unfortunately the forces for the status quo are dominant, as is the logic of prolonging the reform, yielding to one-sided pressures, avoidance of confrontation with the truth, and the purchase of social peace at any cost. He wanted to respond to the confidence placed in him as a member of the Republican Executive Council with changes in the system and not cosmetic touching up. Without deep incisions in the economic and political fabric, that is without a new concept of the system, we are condemned to "death in stages". In the existing conditions, it is impossible to work and I can no longer, nor do I want to bear, above all, the moral responsibility for the course of events, says Rakcevic.

Zarko Rakcevic is the third minister in the Montenegrin government who has resigned. Before him, Dr Pavle Ban, secretary for labor and health, and Finance Minister Slavko Drljevic did the same thing.

Considering these resignations, the Republican Executive Council assessed that they are an expression of free will and a moral act by individuals, and it denied articles in certain newspapers claiming that after these resignations, the collective resignation of the Montenegrin Government would follow.